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AUGUST, 1935

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THE NEGRO SEPARATE SCHOOL

By Charles H. Thompson

NEGRO STUDENTS PREFER PREJUDICE

By G. A. Steward

24th ANNUAL EDUCATION NUMBER

30—YEARS OF SERVICE—30

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THE CRISIS

Founded 1910
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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

Volume 42, No. 8 *Whole No. 296*

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NEXT MONTH

A second article on TVA, written after an inspection trip this summer, will be done by John P. Davis for the September issue.

•

P. L. Prattis contributes a sketch of Howard Shaw, young colored engineer, who is in charge of air-conditioning cars for the New York Central railroad out of Chicago.

•

There will be a short story by Edgar T. Rouzeau called "What Money Did." Also a brief piece by James G. Coka of Johannesburg, South Africa entitled "Political Segregation in South Africa."

•

We expect to present an article dealing with the sane, practical steps which Negro Americans can take to aid Ethiopia in the event of war with Italy.

•

There will be an article by Louis T. Wright, M.D. on "Factors Controlling Negro Health." Also a piece about Mexico by Sue Bailey Thurman and an answer to the recent Crisis article, "Upon This Rock."

•

In an early issue THE CRISIS will have an article dealing with the present status and treatment of the Negro soldiers in the regular army.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Charles H. Thompson is editor of the Journal of Negro Education, issued quarterly by the College of Education of Howard University.

•

Maurice Gates lives in New York City.

•

Nancy Cunard, of the famous British shipping family, has been so interested in Negroes that she has broken with her family. She is the author of "Negro," a huge, beautifully printed volume which was barred from the British West Indies and has not had much sale in this country because it costs $12. She lives in Paris.

•

Hobart Jarrett is the editor of the Wiley College *Reporter* as well as a member of the debate team.

•

Luther C. Wandall writes from a CCC camp, but lives in New York.

•

Gustavus Adolphus Steward lives in Columbus, O. and has contributed several pieces to THE CRISIS.

The Negro Separate School[1]

By Charles H. Thompson

Dr. Thompson examines the pros and cons in the ever-present separate school argument and draws the conclusion, among others, that the separate school promotes the mis-education of both Negroes and whites

IN their attempt to secure an education in schools supported by public funds, Negroes are confronted with a two-fold problem. On the one hand, they are forced by law in 19 states and the District of Columbia to attend schools set apart for them. These schools are almost invariably characterized by notorious and increasing discrimination. In 1900, the disparity in per capita expenditure upon white and Negro pupils was *only* 60 per cent in favor of the whites, but in 1930 this disparity had increased to 253 per cent. On the other hand, although 26 states either legally forbid separate schools or give them no legal sanction, yet in several states such as Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania separate schools exist despite the law against them. For Negroes have not made up their minds whether they should fight this illegal extension of the separate school, because they are still confused on the issue whether separate schools with approximately equal facilities are more or less advantageous than mixed schools "with prejudice." Thus, the question arises, what should Negroes do about this problem?

Since 1865, Negroes have brought before the state and federal courts some 113 cases relating specifically to the provision and administration of separate schools. The courts have developed the following principles in defining the legal limitations of the separate school:

1. *States have a legal right, through exercise of their police power, to establish and maintain separate schools for the various races, provided, substantially equal accommodations are maintained for each race.* Thus, we find in some states, such as Delaware, as many as four kinds of separate schools—those for whites, Negroes, Indians, and Moors.

2. *The power to require separate schools includes private as well as public schools; colleges and universities as well as elementary and secondary schools.* The famous Berea College case is illustrative.

3. *No state may tax the several races for the sole benefit of any one race.* If medical training is provided only for whites at the state university which is supported by public funds, the rights of the other races who are debarred from attending the university are abridged, if provision is not made for them to obtain similar training at public expense.

4. *No state may tax one race for the sole benefit of that race.* Prior to the '80's, a number of states had laws requiring that the taxes collected from whites be used exclusively upon white schools; and those from Negroes, for Negro schools. This practice is now illegal.

5. *Where power to maintain separate schools is not expressly authorized by statute, school boards do not have the authority to maintain separate schools, or even separate classes, based solely upon race.* In 14 states the law is silent upon the question of separate schools. In every case adjudicated on this point since 1865, the courts have ruled in accord with this dictum.

6. *Where separate schools are prohibited by statute, school officials have no discretion in the matter.* In 12 states the law specifically forbids separate schools. The existence of separate schools based upon race in such states as now obtains in Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania is in direct violation of the courts' interpretation of the law in these states.

Can Use the Courts

It should be obvious from this enumeration of the legal limitations of the separate school, as defined by court decisions, that Negroes have some possibility of relief through resort to the courts. They *can* use the courts, both to prevent the extension of separate schools into those areas which either forbid them or give them no legal sanction; and to fight the increasing discrimination in the legally-mandatory separate school. Should Negroes resort to the courts as a means of attempting a solution of the Negro separate school?

The questions naturally arise: "If separate schools are legal only when expressly authorized by statute and are obviously illegal when expressly forbidden by statute, how does it happen that separate schools obtain in certain states which either forbid them or give them no legal sanction?" And, "if separate schools, even when authorized by statute, are legal only when substantially equal facilities are provided, how does it happen that separate schools are still characterized by such notorious and increasing discrimination? The answers to these questions are long and involved, but briefly they run somewhat as follows:

1. The courts are not policemen.

2. Negroes have not brought more cases involving the illegal extension of the separate school, because many of them have allowed themselves to be cajoled, persuaded, or forced into believing that separate schools with substantially equal facilities are more to be desired than mixed schools with prejudice.

3. Negroes have not instituted more cases involving discrimination in the legally-mandatory separate school, either because they are ignorant of the fact that further relief is possible, or because they believe it would be futile (since the whites frequently find means of circumventing the courts' decisions), or because they just *feel* the "time is not ripe" for such action.

In those states where the separate school is legally mandatory, it is obvious that the main source of abuse is found in the fact that the control and administration of the public schools are almost exclusively in the hands of the whites. Negroes have little or no voice in the administration of school funds, either directly or indirectly, neither do they have opportunity to hold any offices that have any direct relation to policy-making; nor are they allowed to participate to any appreciable extent in the selection or election of school officials whose duty it is to administer the means of education. The entire educational machinery is controlled and run *by* the white people and mainly *for* the white people of the various communities in which it exists; and Negroes have little or no opportunity to express their approval or voice their protests through the normal channels of suffrage and direct representation.

In order to correct any abuses in the administration of public education, Negroes must either migrate, revolt, secure the ballot, appeal to the fairmindedness of the whites, or resort to the courts. Migration is practically impossible; revolt at this time would be suicidal; obtaining the ballot also requires resort to the courts; appeal to the fairmindedness of whites has helped some but has proved rather conclusively that, alone, it can not do the job; hence, resort to the courts appears to be an inevitable supplementary approach.

[1] For a more comprehensive treatment of this subject see: "The Courts and the Negro Separate School," *Journal of Negro Education*, 4: 289-464, Jl 1935.

Arguments Against Legal Action

In insisting that Negroes have no other reasonable choice except to resort to the courts, I am fully aware of the limitations of litigation, as well as of the fact that many intelligent and well-meaning people believe it would be more disadvantageous than advantageous to employ such means. Critics of this procedure maintain that: (1) Where legislation (including, of course, court decisions) is strongly resisted by public opinion, it cannot be enforced; (2) the types of cases Negroes would take to court constitute a species of legislation which is strongly resisted by public opinion; and (3) therefore, resort to the courts would not only be futile but disadvantageous, because, even if a favorable decision were obtained, public opinion would not support it. The writer does not believe this argument is valid, despite its apparent plausibility. Limitations of space will only permit the demonstration of the basic weakness here.

The main weakness of this argument is the minor premise. What evidence is there that "the types of cases Negroes would take to court constitute a species of legislation which is strongly resisted by public opinion"? The main evidence for this generalization appears to be the fact that successful attempts have been made to circumvent court decisions by devising more subtle means of securing the same ends attained by the procedure outlawed by the courts. It should be observed, *first*, that we can not determine what decisions will be circumvented until *after* the courts have made their decisions. Hence, we have to go to court to determine what public opinion will or will not enforce.

Second, to the argument that since the law *per se* must and does precede court action and some indication of the state of public opinion can be obtained without resort to the courts, by determining the extent to which the law *per se* is circumvented, the answer is equally clear. Reactions to the law *per se*, without resort to the courts, do not provide the indispensable barometer of public opinion necessary to determine the changes that have taken place in the "social weather" since the original enactment of the law. Many laws enacted 20 or 30 years ago which openly discriminated against the Negro, and which were probably supported by public opinion at the time of their passage, have persisted as a matter of course, because the courts—the main device for determining whether public opinion still supported them—have not been employed. It should also be added that we can not rely upon court decisions already rendered, since a barometer reading of "storm" some few years ago gives no valid indication of the "social weather" of today.

Again, it is the contention of the opponents of court action that if Negroes resorted to the courts, it would disrupt race relations, provoke reprisals, and, in general, Negroes would be worse off than before. Fortunately, history does not support this contention. Since 1865, Negroes have brought some 113 cases before the state and federal courts, —some of them *even* in Georgia and Mississippi. Aside from some temporary and infrequent ill felling, no untoward consequences have resulted. But even if there had been considerable disruption of race relations, it would probably have been for the best anyway, for if race relations have been built upon such an insecure foundation that a legitimate and peaceful attempt to obtain justice on the part of a disadvantaged minority would disrupt them, it is evident that the basis of adjustment was wrong in the first place.

Up to this point the writer has indicated either implicitly or explicitly that where Negroes are forced by law to attend separate schools they should be satisfied with nothing less than substantially equal facilities in every respect, and that resort to the courts is the only reasonable, legitimate alternative to secure them. Moreover, it has been pointed out that the dire results predicted by the opponents of court action are neither supported by history nor logic; that continuous resort to the courts is not only a necessary barometer of the changing "social weather," but also an almost indispensable means of making and changing public opinion.

Analyzing Mixed Schools

Shall Negroes resort to the courts to prevent the extension of the separate school? The answer to this question depends primarily upon whether separate schools are proved to be more or less advantageous than mixed schools. Are separate schools more or less advantageous than mixed schools?

The specific argument for the separate school seems to be three-fold: *First*, it is alleged that in the mixed school Negro children are discriminated against; *second*, that in the mixed-school systems Negro teachers, who are *assumed* to be more sympathetic toward Negro pupils, are discriminated against in the matter of employment; and *third*, that Negro pupils, because of the hostile atmosphere of the mixed school, make greater scholastic achievement and develop more wholesome personalities in the separate school than in the mixed.

The allegation that Negro children are discriminated against in the mixed school is substantially correct — some Negro children are discriminated against in mixed schools. But, the conclusion that such a fact justifies the separate school, even with equal facilities, it seems to me, is fallacious. Such a conclusion compels the acceptance of certain assumptions which, if they are not obviously invalid, are repugnant to common sense, and certainly have little, if any, justification in fact. It is obviously illogical to assume that, because *some*, or even a large number of, Negro pupils are discriminated against in mixed schools, *all* Negro pupils should be assembled and taught in separate schools. If this logic is followed, then all the Jews, Italians, Greeks, barbarians, blondes, brunettes, the ugly, and the beautiful should have separate schools established for them, because *some* of their group are discriminated against. Moreover, it should not be overlooked that even where Negroes have separate schools, some Negro parents validly contend that their children are discriminated against, because they are light or dark, rich or poor, *ad nauseum*.

It does not follow, it seems to me, that the remedy for discrimination in a mixed school is a separate school with discrimination, except it can be shown that Negroes suffer a type of discrimination different in *kind* from that suffered by other groups in our mixed schools, and except it can be shown that the separate school eliminates the peculiar *kind* of discrimination alleged to be suffered. It is probably unnecessary to emphasize that neither facts nor logic appear to support either of these generalizations.

The exponents of the separate school would probably grant the fact that the discrimination suffered by Negro pupils in a mixed school is not different in *kind* from that suffered by other groups, but they would probably contend that the discrimination is different in *degree*, and that this fact is just as important as if there were actually difference in *kind*. I take it that they mean by a difference in degree, either that *more* Negroes are subject to discrimination than is true of other groups, or that Negroes suffer discrimination *more often* than other groups, or both, or both. Even if one granted this assumption, would it follow that the separate school is the remedy? I fail to see that the mere fact that a separate school *may* minimize the degree of discrimination suffered by *some* Negroes in *some* mixed schools means or proves anything,—except it can be demonstrated rather conclusively, on the one hand, that the scholastic achievement of Negroes in the separate school is significantly better than that of Negroes in the mixed school, and, on the other hand, that the personalities of Negroes

(*Continued on page 242*)

Negro Students Challenge Social Forces

By Maurice Gates

The awakening of Negro college students to national and world problems is outlined by Mr. Gates who is a member of the executive committee of the National Student League

YOUNG people have always claimed that they are living in an unique age. The terrible newness of maturity, and the equally terrible problem of the world into which they have been precipitated make it difficult for past and present students to realize that there have always been pressing problems to face and to solve.

When we say, therefore, that we are facing a world that gives us new tasks and the possibility of new achievements, we must substantiate our assertions by facts. Three years ago the crisis was something to be joked about, unless one was in need of relief and Hoover's optimistic promises almost believed. It was supposed to be only one of those recurrent apoplexies of the system, which was no worse, perhaps, than many America had seen. Now the situation is different. The sixth year of the crisis sees only the deepening of the shadow over the future facing youth. War and fascism are no longer theoretical problems. They are practical, concrete and pressing dangers. Wage cuts now apply to the student as well as to his family. The repression, which constitutes at least the initial skirmishes of fascism, has been increased until academic freedom has become more of an ideal than a right or privilege. We are living in an unique age, an age which surely must compel the attention of future historians.

Student Forums Formed

It is therefore not surprising that three years ago discussion clubs and forums, which later grew into several national student organizations, were formed on college campuses. The phenomenal growth of these organizations can only be explained by the timeliness of their appearance; the objective factors were there.

Major questions which affected society had immediate repercussions on the campus. College enrollments began to decline steadily because parents were losing their jobs, having their wages cut, and were compelled to economize. Those who remained in school were also affected by this problem, and in addition the disorganization of American economy offered them no chance to enter their professions or use their technical skill and knowledge after they had been graduated. Year after year college graduates left the college rostrum with the pious unctions of a Nicholas Murray Butler ringing in their ears to present their graduation certificates to the nearest relief bureau.

But the grim paradox of it all! Educational funds began to disappear, a wave of economy swept the American school system, schools closed down, such schools as Crane Junior College at Chicago. Fees were levied where they had never existed before, and raised where they had previously existed. The institution of free text-books began to disappear at the College of the City of New York, Brooklyn College and elsewhere. But the war masters must be served! No funds for education, but billions for war and war preparations.

It was in this era that the Vinson Naval Bill, providing for the largest naval appropriation of any nation during peace time, was speeded through the two houses of Congress. Money intended for work projects was diverted to finance war preparations, by a President who time after time has declared his peaceful intentions. Huge amounts of money were expended for military and naval display; but for education, the myth of American Democracy, there were no funds. Schools and college departments began to tack up signs "Closed Until Further Notice."

Only if college students were inanimate automatons, could they remain immobile and silent. In no uncertain terms they began to speak out. No longer were they limited to discussions in isolated groups. Broad mass actions and demonstrations spread through the country. With mounting vigor the American college campus began to re-echo the cries "All War Funds for Needy Students!," "Down with Fascism!," "Equal Opportunity to Negro Students!," "Schools, not Battleships!."

Students who stood in the forefront of this birth of progress on the American campus, were faced with dire reaction. Mac Weiss, editor of "Frontier" and a leader in the Social Problems Club, was suspended from City College; Reed Harris, editor of the "Columbia Spectator," was expelled for his support of a student delegation to the mining regions of Kentucky, for his investigation which revealed the professionalism of Columbia football, and for his investigation of the John Jay dining hall. A militant strike of Columbia students resulted in his reinstatement. Twenty-one students were expelled from the College of the City of New York for protesting against an R.O.T.C. demonstration. The American student movement began to grow. No longer could one refer to docile students and academic celibates. It was the awakening of a virile, healthy student attitude conditioned by social forces. The American college campus rejected that which was dead and decaying, and sought for life outside of its rotten environment. Let the Butlers, Colligans, and Robinsons fester; the cry of the students was, "We Choose life. We choose to live!."

Virginia Union Makes Start

During all this the Negro student, isolated for the most part, from the main current of American student life, because of one of the most damnable features of the American social set-up—the Jim-crow educational system—remained nearly inarticulate. Old values still held for him. The old *laissez-faire* policy of dog eat dog competition, and the survival of the fittest, determined the ideology of the mass of Negro students. It mattered little that their parents at home suffered from the problems of unemployment and social discrimination, or that they themselves when they finished would find the sphere of Negro exploitation seriously restricted, and if they were to work at all it would probably have to be done as an elevator operator, janitor, or domestic servant. Certainly if any group had cause for protest and cause to remonstrate it was this group. Yet, the first few years except for few and isolated instances nothing was done, nothing was said. These few instances, however, were cheerful and heartening.

At Virginia Union a small group of socially-minded students formed a group called the Cooperative Independent Movement, led by James C. Jackson, now a member of the national executive committee of the National Student League. This group carried on a rather consistent campaign of education on such broad social questions as war and fascism, retrenchment in education, and Negro discrimination. It was on this latter point that they reached a very high level. Together with a like group of white students at the University of Virginia, they formed a delegation to the state legislature and demanded equal appropriations for Negro schools. This was a turn in the right direction; unity, a basic need, was achieved. Negro stu-

dents together with their white student allies had challenged in the Jim-Crow state of Virginia, the monstrous segregation and racial inequality. The group at the University of Virginia was organized by the local chapter of the National Student League. It was but the carrying out of their clearly defined policy: "Because of their comparatively greater freedom, it is the duty of white students to take the initiative in the struggle to break down these barriers of race prejudice and discrimination which tend to divide the student body and weaken its fight. Only through the unity of Negro and white students can their common ends be attained."

At Fisk University there was formed the Denmark Vesey Forum, a student group which discussed contemporary sociological and economic questions. It was, however, also in the field of Negro discrimination and on lynching that they reached their highest level. When Cordie Cheek was lynched at the edge of the Fisk campus, it was this group which stimulated and organized the campus protest, staging a parade and open-air protest meeting. This group was mainly under the leadership of Ishmael Flory, a graduate student from the University of California. It was this same group which led the protests and picketing of a local theatre and prevented a group of Fisk singers from appearing at a theatre where Negroes would be forced to an entrance on an alley way and a seat in a top gallery. Dr. Thomas Elsa Jones, the president of Fisk University, expelled Flory for his activities "detrimental to the best interests of the University."

At Virginia State College, students, sickened by the Victorian atmosphere and the convent-like restrictions imposed upon them by that amiable czar, Dr. John M. Gandy, rebelled and called a student strike, which for organization far surpasses that of any other similar student activity in the history of the American student movement. The school administration was forced to accede to a part of the demands, and this year President Gandy, who does not believe in student government, but student participation in government, has announced a Student Self-Government plan.

I think the turning point in the attitude of the Negro student to the growing militant student movement was the December conference of the National Student League, held at Howard University in 1933. This conference was invited to the campus by the faculty committee and later it became known that President Mordecai Johnson objected to the sessions being held. The students of Howard were conspicuous by their absence. This no doubt was due to the fear of association with "radicals." The Negro newspapers, in not too good an imitation of the press of William Randolph Hearst, had attempted and did partly succeed in producing a "Red-scare."

Students in demonstration

Picket Crime Conference

However, a few students, who had been impressed with the importance of the social problems to be discussed at the conference did attend and contributed greatly to the wealth of the discussion. This small group of students certainly are entitled to the most profound respect, because it was they who set themselves the task of making the students at Howard conscious of vital, living forces around them, thus setting an example for other schools to follow. The difficulty and the vastness of this task can be easily gauged when one considers that hitherto for the the most part the students at Howard despite their social and economic position, had contented themselves with a middle class outlook. It was slow work, and one watched and wondered. The effect is just now being felt.

The first outstanding event among Negro students during the past school year was the picket line thrown around the National Crime Conference last December in Washington, D. C. This conference, called by the administration to discuss crime, omitted from their agenda the crime of lynching. On the first day of the session, the picketing was carried on by the District of Columbia branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, but the four pickets were arrested and released on bail. More than sixty students at Howard met with the N.A.A.C.P. branch that night and the next day appeared at the conference hall in a dramatic picket line, each student wearing a noose of rope about his neck, grim reminders of the terror used against a whole people.

Facing the serious problem of militarism in the schools, students at Howard University met together with students from the University of Maryland, George Washington and John Hopkins, at the latter school for an anti-war conference, where they discussed the growing intensity of war preparations, war propaganda and fascist tendencies on the campus. Having thoroughly discussed the several questions, they formulated a wide program of action. Probably nothing else, would serve as well, to indicate their seriousness, as the sight of these some three hundred students, Negro and white, who stood at the end of the conference and recited in concert the Oxford Pledge: "We students, solemnly pledge ourselves, not to support the government of the United States in any war it may conduct."

The anti-war sentiment has not lagged at other colleges, for at Virginia Union University, a similar anti-war conference was held and the Oxford Pledge taken by a large group of students.

It remained, however, for the student anti-war strike of April 12 to crystalize that sentiment and direct it into organized channels. This was true not only for students in Negro schools, but for the American student Movement as a whole. The April 12 strike was called by six student organizations including the Methodist Student Federation, and the National Student League, in answer to the call of the International Student Congress Against War and Fascism, held at Brussels, Belgium, during the Christmas holidays.

One hundred fifty thousand students struck for one hour against war and fascism. Of this number at least three thousand were Negro students. This, of course, is not a very large number but it certainly shows the direction the Negro students are beginning to take. This is more clearly emphasized when it is remembered that the previous school year, no Negro school took part in the strike.

The Negro colleges which took part in the strike of April 12 were Howard University, Virginia Union, Virginia State, Morgan College and several other schools which held small meetings during the strike hour.

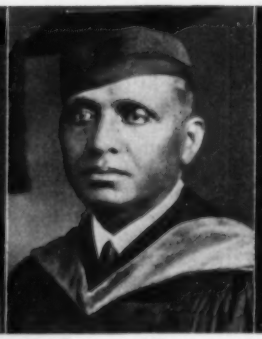
The strike served as a warning to the war makers and those interested in the spread of fascism that if they persist in their course they do so at their own peril. Students, Negro and white, will not allow themselves to blindly be drawn into another war to become the fuel for the perpetuation of a system which, to put it extremely mildly, is inadequate for the great masses of people.

(*Continued on page 251*)

Martin David Jenkins
Ph.D.
Northwestern University

Sherman Dana Scruggs
Ph.D.
University of Kansas

Mrs. Ann Cox Greene
M.A.
Columbia



Augustus Simms
LL.M.
New York University

George D. Wilson
Ph.D.
Ohio State University

The American Negro in College, 1934-35

THE leading colleges and universities occupy the same positions as last year in the number of graduates receiving the degrees of bachelor of arts or bachelor of science for the school year 1934-35. Howard University conferred 149 such degrees; Hampton Institute 114; Tennessee A. and I. State College 102; and Tuskegee Institute 90.

This annual survey of THE CRISIS is as complete as volunteer effort can make it, but it does not present the whole picture of Negro students in colleges. A number of the large northern and western universities failed to answer the questionnaire. Several of the Negro schools also failed to answer. From the University of California at Berkeley, the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, Columbia University of New York, the University of Chicago, and the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia, THE CRISIS received substantially the same letter: "The university does not keep race statistics on its students; consequently, I regret that I am unable to give you the information you request. . . ." Such information as was secured indicates that 129 colored students were graduated from the mixed institutions.

The tabulation shows three doctors of philosophy: Martin David Jenkins, from Northwestern University; George D. Wilson, Ohio State University; and Sherman Dana Scruggs, from the University of Kansas. There were 102 degrees of master of arts and sciences conferred by mixed and Negro institutions combined.

From their professional schools, Howard University graduated 88, and Meharry Medical College 72. Detailed information and statistics:

William Anthony Fowlkes was the ranking student at Tennessee A. & I. State College.

Jane Eliza Tuitt was the highest honor student at Hampton Institute.

Emma G. Campfield was the first honor student at Tuskegee Institute.

Treasie Marie Jackson was graduated magna cum laude from Wiley College.

Margaret Carolyn Fields was the highest honor student at Virginia State.

Miss Bonita Golda Harrison was graduated with distinction from Prairie View State College.

Miss Jeanette Holmes Glover was the highest honor student at the Florida A. & M. College.

Frank Jackson Wingfield was the ranking student at West Virginia State.

Juanita Dorcas Leeper was the honor student at Alabama State Teachers College.

Anna Howard Russell was graduated magna cum laude from Kentucky State Industrial College.

Harold T. Pinkett was the highest honor student at Morgan College. Jerome A. Gaskins was the second highest honor student.

Wayman Alexander Wells was the highest honor student at Bishop College.

Miss Mattie Marian Minus was the highest ranking student at Fisk University.

Blanton Emanuel Black was the honor student at Morris-Brown University.

S. Lucious Gandy was the first honor student at State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.

Miss Arlynne Lake was graduated summa cum laude from Lane College.

Archie Howard Lucas was the highest honor student at Virginia Union.

Mrs. Metra Franklin Dodson was the ranking student at Tillotson College.

Miss Thelma Ruth Brett was graduated summa cum laude and Miss Jeannette Frances Spruell was graduated cum laude from Shaw University.

Addie Dandridge Jones was the highest honor student at Le Moyne College.

Moddie Daniel Taylor was the highest honor student at Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo. The highest possible average attainable was 3.0. He received 2.80.

Malachi Charles Darkins was the ranking student at Morehouse College.

At Meharry College, Charles T. Holloway had the highest average for his four years in medicine; J. F. Murray had the highest average in dentistry; William H. McNeel had the

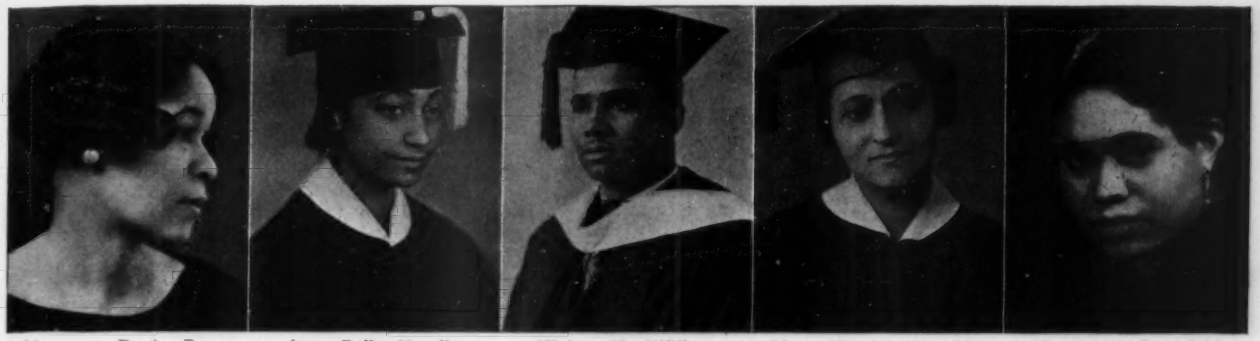
John Turner Speller
Honor Student
A. & T. College

Merle Herriford
Honor Roll
University of Nebraska

Anna R. Cox
M.Ed.
Boston University

Lawrence D. Reddick
General Education Board
Fellow
University of Chicago

Charles Everett Byrd
B.D.
Union Theological Seminary



Margaret Davis Bowen
M.Ed.
University of Cincinnati

Anna Belle Hamilton
Honor Student
Louisville Municipal

Walter H. Williams
M.S.
University of Wisconsin

Mrs. Martha Josephine Sebastian
B.S.
Boston University

Emma G. Campfield
Ranking Student
Tuskegee Institute

highest average in pharmacy; and Miss Ellen U. Williams had the highest average in nurse training.

Anna Belle Hamilton was the highest honor student at Louisville Municipal College for Negroes. This is the first graduating class which has done all of its four years of work in this college which was founded and opened February, 1931.

Charles Whitted Quick was the honor student at Talladega College.

Joseph Anderson was graduated with honors from Lincoln University, Pa.

Mary Logan Reddick was the highest honor student at Spelman College.

Esther Pocahontas Pickett was the valedictorian at Bennett College for Women.

Dorothea Amanda Poole was graduated with honors from N. C. College for Negroes. During her four years, she had no grade below "B".

Lucile Diana Brown was the highest honor student at Arkansas State.

Geraldine Rogers was graduated with honors from Knoxville College.

Dorothy Mae Washington was the highest honor student at St. Augustine's College.

Ellen Frazier Gadsen was the ranking student at Bethune-Cookman College.

Carrie Lee Clinton was the honor student at Livingstone College.

William Lee Twymon was the highest honor student at A. & M. Institute, Normal, Ala.

Felmon Harvey was graduated with honors from Paul Quinn College.

Rosalia Artensie Torrence was the ranking student at Dunbar Junior College.

Miss Geneva Marie Yancy was graduated with honors from Paine College.

Miss Mary Eugenia Rolle was the highest honor student at Florida Normal and Industrial Institute.

Portia Marguerite Lucas was the valedictorian at Tougaloo College, graduating cum laude. Edith Norwood was salutatorian.

Henry Thomas was the ranking student at Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School.

Miss Dorothy Helen Hansley was the highest honor student at State College for Colored Students, Dover, Del.

Edwin Richardson Edmonds was graduated with honors from St. Philips Junior College.

Clayton Howard Jordan was graduated cum laude from Virginia Theological Seminary.

John Turner Speller was the highest honor student at A. and T. College of N. C.

Carrie Josephine Menafee was graduated with honors from Voorhees N. and I. School.

Miss Erin E. Freeman was the highest honor student at Kentucky Industrial College, Miss Piccola M. Robinson was second and Miss Luetta Hall was third.

Natalie D. Hill, on the Cheyney State Teachers College honor roll, was the ranking student. She was awarded the Cheyney Alumni Key for scholarship.

Maxcy Gordon was the highest honor student at Benedict College. Mrs. M. Russell and her son Edward Russell were honor students.

William C. Curtis was an outstanding student at the University of Illinois. He was elected to Sigma Xi.

Kenneth Anderson McClane was elected a member of Phi Beta Kappa at Boston University. Ferd Havis Davis and Mrs. Martha Josephine Sebastian were other outstanding students.

Robert Coleman was graduated summa cum laude with second commencement honors from Western Reserve University. He is a member of Phi Beta Kappa.

Marion Eugenia Watkins and Merle Baird Herriford were on the honor roll at University of Nebraska.

Theodore S. Williams received honorable mention in the Journal of Veterinary Medicine.

William A. Banner was elected a member of Pi Gamma Mu, national social science honorary. He received the Louise Carnegie scholarship 1934-1935. He was graduated from Pennsylvania State.

Robert Allston Johnson, a freshman in medical school 1934-1935, has attained special scholastic honors during the year at Tufts College.

Katherine McNeill is on the Dean's list at Smith College.

Frances Edwards, Wanda Piper Owens and Edward Vernon Williams were elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the University of Kansas.

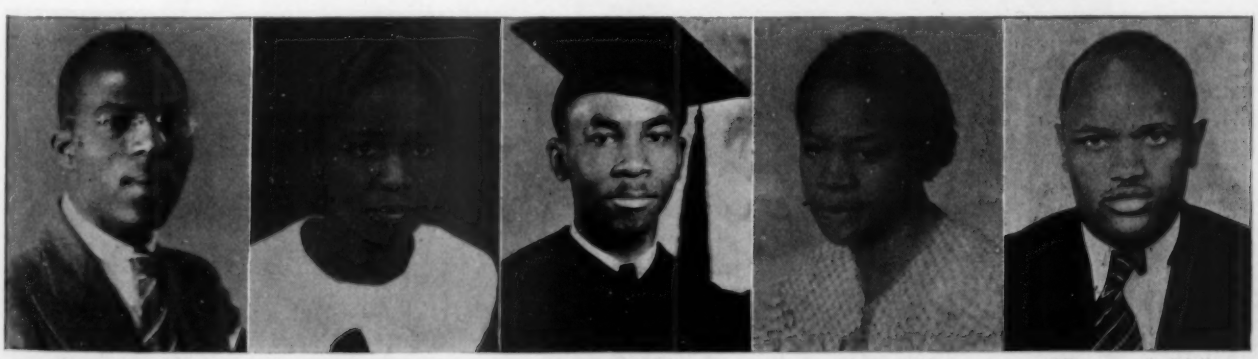
Mrs. Ann Cox Greene received her master of arts degree from Columbia University. She is a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha and a teacher of English in Junior High school 136, Manhattan.

Corinne E. Bonner received her B.S. cum laude in Home Economics from Howard University. She is a member of Alpha Kappa Alpha. During her junior year, she was elected a mentor to serve during her senior year at the University.

Charles Everett Byrd was graduated from Union Theological Seminary, receiving the degree of B.D. He was ordained by the Central Hudson Baptist Association upon the recommendation of his home church, the Mt. Zion Baptist Church, Green Haven, New York.

James B. Oliver graduated with honors from Florida A. & M. College. His B.A. degree was conferred upon him at the commencement exercises in May, 1935.

Lawrence D. Reddick, for the past two years head of the department of history at



James B. Oliver
Ranking Student
Florida A. & M.

Esther Pocahontas Pickett
Valedictorian
Bennett College

Harold T. Pinkett
Honor Student
Morgan College

Arlynne Lake
Summa cum laude
Lane College

Wayman A. Wells
Ranking Student
Bishop College

William Gaitha Pegg
B.S.
University of Nebraska

Laura M. Jeffrey
Cum laude
Macalester College

Dan. C. Matthews
M.A.
University of Kansas

Treasie Marie Jackson
Magna cum laude
Wiley College

Theodore DeWitt Phillips
Mus.M.
Oberlin

Kentucky State College, recently appointed to the faculty of Dillard University, is a General Education Board Fellow at the University of Chicago.

Theodore S. Ledbetter received his B.D. from the Oberlin Graduate School of Theology. He has been elected professor of Religion and Philosophy at Tillotson College.

Augustus Simms received his LL.M. from New York University.

H. A. Bullock and Mr. Solomon were awarded the Earhart Foundation Fellowship and Henrietta E. Roberts received her B.A. with distinction at the University of Michigan.

Laura M. Jeffrey was graduated from Macalester College cum laude receiving her A.B.

Dan C. Matthews received the M.A. degree in zoology at Kansas University. He is a member of Alpha Phi Alpha.

J. E. Briggs received the degree Master of Education from Temple University in January.

Clifford M. H. Morton received his M.A. degree in education at Indiana University. He is an instructor in mathematics in Central High school, Louisville, Ky.

Martin David Jenkins received his Ph.D. from Northwestern University. During his three years' graduate work at Northwestern he maintained a straight "A" scholastic record. He was awarded a university fellowship for the school year 1933-34; this fellowship was renewed for the school year 1934-1935.

The Ph.D. degree was conferred upon George D. Wilson, head of the department of education of Louisville Municipal College at the March Convocation of the Ohio State University.

Theodore Curtis Mayo received the Bachelor of Music degree from Oberlin and was elected a member of Pi Kappa Lambda, an honorary musical fraternity.

Miss Anna R. Cox was awarded the Master of Education degree by Boston University. She is a recent graduate of Bennett College for Women and is the first graduate to receive a master's degree.

Theodore DeWitt Phillips, director of music, West Virginia State College, on leave of absence during 1934-35 on a General Education Board Fellowship, was granted the degree of Master of Music by Oberlin College. For high scholarship and outstanding ability in performance he was honored by being elected to Pi Kappa Lambda, an honorary musical fraternity.

M. Robinson Baker received his A.B. from Chico State Teachers College. He was a member of Omicron Theta Epsilon honorary biological fraternity.

William Gaitha Pegg was awarded his Bachelor of Science in Business Administration at the University of Nebraska.

Maxine N. Hamilton received her B.A. from Pacific Union College.

Walter H. Williams received his M.S. degree from the University of Wisconsin. He maintained an "A" average for the year.

Miss Agnes Laura Mae Roe received her B.S. degree from Langston University. She was valedictorian.

Charles Gordon Thompson was the highest honor student at Bluefield State Teachers College.

Sherman Dana Scruggs received his Ph.D. from the University of Kansas. He is the first Negro to receiver the Ph.D. degree from the University of Kansas.

Besides those receiving the Bachelor's degree, the following degrees have been bestowed on Negro students: Doctors of Philosophy, 3; Masters of Arts and Science, 102; Bachelors of Law, 19; Doctors of Medicine, 99; Masters of Law, 1; Bachelors of Divinity, 27; Doctors of Law, 2; Doctors of Dental Surgery, 7.

Other Degrees: B.Th., 5; D.D., 1; S.T.B., 3; S.T.M., 1; B.B.A., 1; Phar.C., 17; Mus.B., 3; Mus.M., 1.

School	Number Enrolled	A.B. or B.S.
Howard	1,907	149
Tennessee A. & I. State	1,128	103
Hampton Institute	883	114
Tuskegee Institute	775	90
Wiley	760	42
Virginia State	729	66
Prairie View	725	64
West Virginia State	683	23
Florida A. & M.	671	50
Alabama State Teachers College	664	31
Kentucky State	541	69
Morgan	451	53
Bishop College	438	23
Fisk	430	64
Morris-Brown	423	29
State A. & M. College, Orangeburg, S. C.	404	21
Lane College	403	19
Virginia Union	401	57
Tillotson	388	22
Shaw	377	19
Le Moyne	360	39
Lincoln University, Mo.	352	11
Johnson C. Smith	333	56
Morehouse	331	36
Louisville Municipal College	306	30
Georgia State Industrial	292	26
Talladega	281	31
Lincoln University, Pa.	274	52
Spelman	261	43
Bennett College for Women	255	28
North Carolina College for Negroes	244	46
Arkansas State	235	17
Knoxville College	215	40
Straight College	194	18
St. Augustine's College	184	27
Bethune-Cookman	183	.....
Livingstone	182	18
A. & M. Institute	166	.....
Paul Quin	156	.....
Dunbar Junior College	154	.....
Paine	149	15
Jarvis Christian College	138	.....
Florida Normal and Industrial Institute	136	.....
Tougaloo	106	11
Fort Valley Normal and Industrial	89	.....

Natalie D. Hill
Ranking Student
Cheyney State

Corinne E. Bonner
Cum laude
Howard University

Moddie Daniel Taylor
Ranking Student
Lincoln University, Mo.

Bonita Golda Harrison
Honor Student
Prairie View State

Dorothea Amanda Poole
Honor Student
N. C. College for Negroes

Blanton Emanuel Black
Ranking Student
Morris-Brown University

Malachi Charles Darkins
Honor Student
Morehouse College

Maxine N. Hamilton
B.A.
Pacific Union

Charles T. Holloway
Honor Student
Meharry

Julian Francis Murray
Honor Student
Meharry

School	Number Enrolled	A.B. or B.S.
State College, Dover, Dela.	79	7
St. Philips Junior College	68	.....
Virginia Theological Seminary	60	.....
A. & T. College of North Carolina	56	31
Voorhees N. & I.	47	.....
Gammon Theological Seminary	45	.....
Oakwood Junior College	47	.....
West Kentucky Industrial College	....	42
Bluefield State Teachers College	....	36
Southern Christian Institute	22	.....
Cheyney State Teachers College	....	17
	19,181	1,784
Wayne	236	14
Ohio State	213	20
University of Kansas	132	12
University of Iowa	112	3
New York University	109	6
University of Illinois	104	16
Boston University	65	4
Oberlin	51	3
Western Reserve	47	5
Butler	47	3
University of Minnesota	32	1
University of Nebraska	27	3
Kansas State	23	1
University of Denver	19	.....
University of Southern California	17	4
Indiana University	14	8
Pennsylvania State	13	1
University of Colorado	12	.....
Simmons	11	4
University of Pennsylvania	....	3
Bates	7	.....
Syracuse	5	2
Drew University	4	1
Rutgers	4	.....
University of New Mexico	4	.....
Radcliffe College	3	.....
Wellesley	3	.....
University of Buffalo	3	.....
Tufts	3	1
Amherst	2	.....
Mount Holyoke	2	.....
Barnard	2	.....
Keuka	1	.....
University of Vermont	1	.....
University of Idaho	1	.....
University of Cincinnati	....	14
	1,329	129

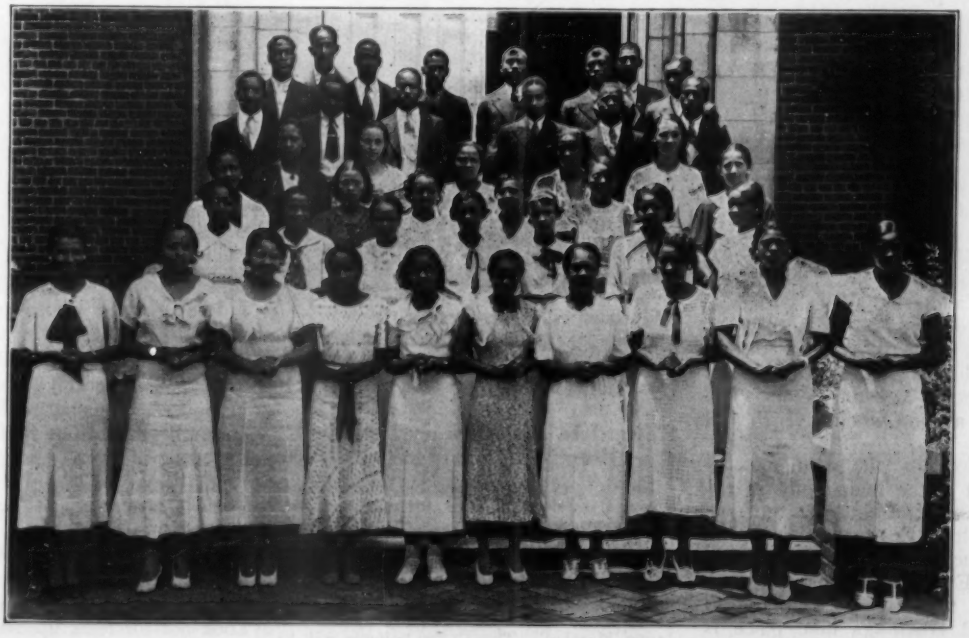
Meharry Medical College

Enrollment	306
Graduates	72
Medical	40
Dental	4
Dental Hygienists	1
Pharmacy	12
Nurse Training	15

Howard University
Professional Schools

D.D.S.	2
LL.B.	10
M.D.	55
Phar.C.	5

Editor's note: additional photographs of graduates will be printed next month.



A new note was struck in the South's interracial relations when the Paine College chorus, singing the Negro Anthem, brought forth the greatest amount of applause accorded a singing group during the presentation of Augusta's Bi-Centennial Historical Pageant of May 14-17. The significance of this event lay in the fact that an unsegregated southern audience, predominantly white, for four consecutive evenings heartily accepted the singing of a Negro group when such singing did not consist of the greatly loved, but stereotyped, spiritual. The Paine chorus, with the dramatic club of the college, has also appeared at Emory University in Atlanta, the Municipal Auditorium of Chattanooga, and the War Memorial at Nashville in Paine's dramatic spectacle, Marching On

Stevedore in London

By Nancy Cunard

Paul Robeson played the lead in the London production of "Stevedore" at the Embassy Repertory Theatre this Spring

STEVEDORE is now in its third week in one of the few specialized London theatres, and may go to London's equivalent of Broadway.

There is no difficulty in America in finding the right Negro actors to fill no matter how large a colored cast. In London it is quite the opposite. We have, therefore, African, West Indian, American and English Negroes and colored in this play. Some critics have, very stupidly, quibbled at this mosaic; they wanted it "all-American" actors. The important thing is that, firstly, *Stevedore* is being done, and secondly, so dramatically well done in the face of great artistic difficulty. The mosaic is a most interesting transposition, without any loss of vitality whatsoever of the central forces.

Because *Stevedore* is real, Paul Robeson, who plays the hero, is much more real than in such other parts as "Othello" (which does not suit him) and as the lead in the defeatist, false-value ideology of "All God's Chillun Got Wings." This production of *Stevedore* has brought to light a fine new personality, on the stage for the first time: Robert Adams, Negro of British Guiana, well known otherwise as "Black Eagle," wrestler. He plays "Blacksnake." An extraordinarily fine, a natural-born actor, who should without fail find other good parts and work on the screen as well, for even a merely intelligent producer—but I wish him the best, Sergei Eisenstein. Kathleen Davis as "Ruby," and the Gold Coastian, Ahuma, as "Joe Crump" are both beautiful and have great personality. John Payne, who directs all Negro choirs on London stages, is a sound actor. The entire cast is a good whole, Negro and white.

The reaction of the audience—as everywhere it is the main body of the stalls which understands least the true import of such plays on social or racial themes. Remember that this part, particularly of English audiences, knows very little of the Negro's situation in U.S.A. That lynchings take place is known—not much, if anything beyond that. To be stirred by the action, the story and the vivid black personalities, yes—but not *shattered* by the facts presented, as has happened with American audiences. The other parts of the theatre grasp it all better. The applause is long and sincere.

André van Gyseghem is the producer, a sensitive and energetic artist who has brought new life into the London theatre, and one hopes that he will be able to take it on tour of England and to working-class audiences who will understand 100% how such things happen as in *Stevedore*, and who will extend the hand of solidarity against such oppression and viciousness, and not only give the appreciative applause accorded a good piece of art.

It is Marie Seton, internationally known film and dramatic critic, who worked hardest to get the play put on. She complained to me that the colored people of London do not flock to it. We discussed the old stumbling-block, the word "niggers." Of course it is used *when needed;* the play cannot do without it. What other word, to ease a few squeamish people who don't understand either life or art, could be put into the mouths of crackers working up a lynching? No difficulty in noting the difference between the race haters and the white southerners of the Workers Union who fight alongside their black brother-members, and who do not use the word. If Negroes do not get to understand the difference, it is bad. Yet, as this is England—where the color question exists intensely, though from a mere numeric factor, not on the same scale—it would be good to explain this particular point: the necessity of portraying our common enemy with exactness, the extent of his foulness (including "niggers") the better to expose and down him. Give the public such facts as *Stevedore*, and as well dramatized, and they will react properly.

Stevedore is extremely valuable in the racial-social question — it is straight from the shoulder.

Howard U. Law Library Receives Louis Marshall Books

During the year Howard University received the following gifts for which proper expressions of thanks have been made by the Board of Trustees:

One thousand five hundred English Reports were presented as a gift from the library of the late Louis Marshall, distinguished attorney and advocate of New York City by his son, James Marshall. These 1,500 volumes will be properly marked and identified in the law library as a gift from the library of Mr. Marshall. The late Louis Marshall was a member of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P. and advised the association on constitutional law. His son is a member of the board of directors of the N.A.A.C.P.

An Interview with Huey Long

Editorial in the Duluth *Herald*.

A reporter for the magazine CRISIS, which is an official voice for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, succeeded in interviewing Senator Huey Long, who is Huey Pierce Long, 42, in the Congressional Directory, at New York City recently. The interview is printed in THE CRISIS.

Long speaks of the Negroes usually as "niggers" but occasionally, not often, refers to them as "nigras," a crude colloquialism sometimes used by persons who gag in some companies at the term "nigger" and compromise on the word "nigra." Apparently by oversight he used the word "colored" people a few times in the long interview.

Although a senator sworn to support the Constitution, Long accepts the southern arrangement that Negro citizens must not vote. Thus he ignores the Civil War amendments which he has sworn to support. But as a palliative he points out that his measures for education, for hospital care and the like, are designed and carried on for the good of people of any race or color.

Long considers that Negroes in Louisiana must take what he allows them, and be satisfied. They must accept lynch law as applied by mobs to persons of color charged with crime, and must give up all hope of enjoying the right of suffrage possessed by Long and all white men. They must, according to him, be a disfranchised class forever.

It is sad that this unbridled demagogue should, in an official way, be a successor to the great men who, during the past, the South has sent to Washington. He does not adequately fill the shoes of such men as Calhoun, Benton or Alexander H. Stephens. His own state has had leaders in home and in federal politics, whose devotion and intelligence stand out luminously when compared to his rantings.

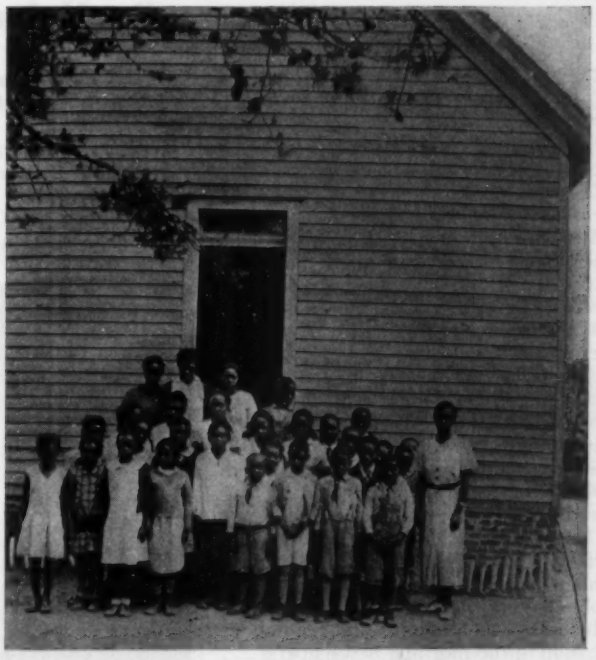
He has force and fearlessness, but as he never uses these for the public welfare, these qualities in him add to his malevolent power.

A Farewell to Love

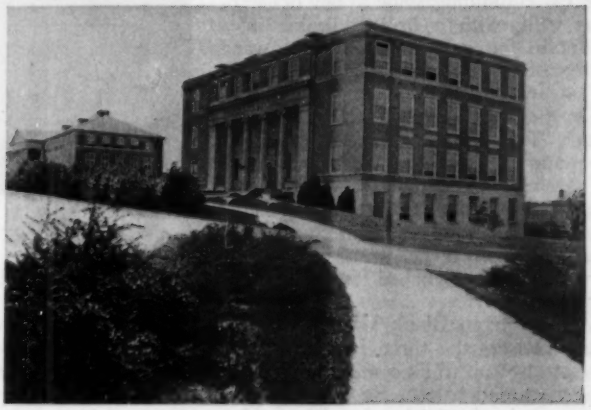
By BERNICE BROWN

Kiss me goodbye,
And should we meet tomorrow,
Look not for tears upon my cheeks,
Nor words of sorrow.
I, as a Trojan's son, fear not my fate.
Nor do I weeping stand, outside the gate
Of Paradise, that once we two have known.
Serene, I hide my grief and walk alone.

Court Opens Maryland U. Doors



"Equal but separate" schools as provided by the state of Maryland. Above, the white grade school at Hurlock, Md., and right, the Negro grade school there. Below, left, the entire science department at colored Princess Anne academy; right, the chemistry building at the University of Maryland



ON June 18, 1935, the Baltimore City Court ordered the University of Maryland to admit Donald Gaines Murray, a qualified Negro student, to the school of law for the term beginning September 25, 1935. Murray had previously filed his application with the registrar of the university but on order of the president of the university, the registrar had refused to receive the application. An action of mandamus was brought against the president, registrar, and board of regents of the university to compel them to receive and consider Murray's application. The university attempted to defend the exclusion of Murray on the ground that Maryland provided a separate but equal educational system for Negroes through the collegiate grade and further provided scholarships for Negroes for graduate and professional study outside the state.

Counsel for the N.A.A.C.P. were able to show that there was gross inequality between the education of Negroes and the education of whites in Maryland, even beginning with the grammar school; that the so-called collegiate instruction for Negroes was inadequate even on a junior college level. It was demonstrated that the graduate and professional scholarships for Negroes covered tuition only and made no provision for travel from Maryland to the university out of the state where the Negro student would have to matriculate for such training; that, as a matter of fact, at the time of the trial in Murray's case, the program for the administration of the scholarships had not been worked out. The inadequacies of the state's provision for Negro education were so flagrant that at the close of the argument the court without any hesitation ordered the writ of mandamus to issue against the university, directing it to admit Murray pending an appeal which the university indicated it was going to take from the decision.

The Court of Appeals of Maryland which will hear the appeal does not convene until October. This means that Murray will register at the university in September and actually be in school when his appeal is heard. Charles H. Houston and Thurgood Marshall were the N.A.A.C.P. attorneys.

Adventures in Interracial Debates

By Hobart Jarrett

Wiley College at Marshall, Tex., has won fame through its debating teams. It shattered precedent several months ago by meeting Texas Christian University at Fort Worth, Tex., on the campus of the latter. No race riots were reported

ONWARD, Mississippi! The debaters of Wiley College en route to an eastern university, stop their steaming car at a general store to get some water. A half-intoxicated upholder of Nordic superiority shoots at them twice with a Winchester. . . .

Beebee, Arkansas! It is three a.m. The White River has gone mad and leaped its banks. A mob, with flaming torches, is scattered along the road, looking for a Negro tramp. A deputy sheriff has been killed as he got into a box car. Off in the swamps the hounds are baying. The Wiley debaters are on the road and the road leads through the tremendous circle of mobsters. But there is a mulatto in the car. Coach Tolson tells him to take the steering wheel. The darker debaters get down in the car. The night is friendly, protecting. The mulatto salutes nonchalantly the grimfaced members of the mob, allaying their suspicions. And the debaters reach Memphis and read about the mob in the morning newspapers. . . .

A car containing some Wiley debaters runs wild, with a broken brake, in a mountain fog, and misses a downward plunge of two thousand feet by a margin of six inches. . . .

On a debate tour out in West Texas, Coach Tolson and the white mentor sleep and eat together. The white coach is passing for a mulatto and having great fun. Then the colored hostess discovers that he is white and asks Coach Tolson if he wants to get all three of them lynched for practicing social equality. . . .

A team from Blank University arbitrarily selects the three judges and refuses to live up to its contract unless the Wiley team debates. So the Wileyites mete out justice by beating Blank University 3–0. . . .

Down the years have come the tales of Wiley debaters. Legends have grown up on the campus. Traditions. They're in the atmosphere. When you join the debate squad you feel that you're in for great adventures. Your colleagues tell you about the forensic giants of other days, and the strategy they used to beat distinguished opponents.

Interracial debates are a real adventure for both Negro youth and white youth. For centuries the Caucasian has believed that his superiority lies in his brain power. Debates involve a direct clash of intellects. There was a time when white colleges thought that debating against a Negro institution was mental dissipation, but that view has passed forever. Negro teams have shown that they are as capable as their white opponents despite the library handicaps which limit research. I know several instances personally in which the coaches and debaters of white universities have admitted the superiority of certain Negro debate teams.

HOBART JARRETT

At Wiley College our preparation for these interracial encounters is gruellingly intensive and extensive. We debaters know that we are pioneers in breaking down the ethnic barriers of intellectual snobbishness. Our debate squad reads hundreds of magazine articles and scores of books on government, economics, sociology, history and literature. We are taught to be prepared for anything. This led Dr. Nickols of the University of Southern California to remark that the Wiley team had a marvelous background of general knowledge.

Then we must learn to handle our knowledge with readiness and poise growing out of a mastery of the platform. This is a hard job. Groping for words or an error in grammar is an unpardonable sin. Sometimes our coach will put a debater on the platform during practice and cross-examine him for an hour. The debater must be able to escape from the most perplexing dilemmas and antinomies. Every man must learn to take it as well as give it. He must be able to think coolly under fire. The platform can be a very hot place, especially in an interracial debate.

I have had the thrilling adventure of meeting the University of Kansas, the University of New Mexico, Texas Christian University, San Francisco State Teachers College, the University of California, and the University of Southern California. These interracial debates have been pleasurable, instructive, friendly, and broadening. Our opponents have been gentlemen always.

Our meeting with Texas Christian University at Fort Worth, Texas, was the first time a Negro college had ever encountered a white institution on its campus in the South. The southerners erased all traces of prejudice before the debate started and at its close they rushed across the platform and grasped the hands of my colleague, Mr. Cleveland Gay, and the writer. *The Star-Telegram*, the white daily, eulogized the Negro team.

On the night of April 1, 1935, I received my greatest thrill in Bovard Auditorium on the campus of the University of Southern California, when we met the Trojans, the national champions, before a mixed audience of 2,000 people. The newspapers of the Pacific Coast are still writing about that signal event.

As a result of these interracial debates, the editor of *The Forensic*, national organ of the Pi Kappa Delta debate fraternity, which has a discriminatory law against Negroes, honored the Wiley coach, Professor M. B. Tolson, by asking him to write an article on interracial debates; and the article appeared in the May issue! This debate fraternity has over 13,000 members and *The Forensic* reaches the leading libraries, outstanding men and women in public and school life, and white students in the institutions of the forty-eight states.

Many folk have asked me how I felt on the platform in an interracial debate. Many have inquired if I were afraid. This is rather amusing. After a debater has thoroughly prepared himself for several months in research work, after he has weighed all the pros and cons and mastered the art of delivery and refutation, there is nothing to fear.

Editorials

Whither, Graduates?

THERE was a time when editorials on graduates in publications catering to colored people concerned themselves with the bars against which trained colored youth had to fling itself. Today those special obstacles based upon color still exist, but a much larger and more important problem has projected itself upon the scene. It is: how can *any* graduate win not success, fame and fortune, but just freedom and security? Only a blind man would maintain, in Alger-like naiveté, that opportunity is still here for him to grasp who is trained, who is honest, industrious and thrifty. We know now that the "good old days" are gone. The pattern of living from now on has to be rearranged if real freedom and reasonable security are won, if men and women are to have the opportunity to grow, make contributions to life and enjoy happiness.

This is the task calling our 1935 colored graduates along with all graduates everywhere. This is the task of youth always: to decrease selfishness, greed, hatred, bigotry; to make a better world for all. The youngsters of 1935 will not remake the world for all their enthusiasm, skill and energy; but if they do not realize that for their own sakes and for the world itself, a newer, fairer society must be built, then their education has been wasted and they deserve to be swallowed up in the toppling of the decaying structure about them.

Ethiopia Against the World

IN all the comment which has arisen over the Italian-Ethiopian situation, none is more significant than a dispatch from Aden, Arabia, which voiced the fear of white people in East Africa that Mussolini and his Fascist legions might prove inadequate to the task of conquering Ethiopia. Their uneasiness was said to be caused by the undoubted loss of prestige the white race would suffer by a defeat in Africa, to say nothing of the danger of such a defeat spurring black colonies to action against white overlords. No one in full possession of his faculties can imagine such uneasiness being voiced in a newspaper dispatch if the infallibility of Il Duce's warriors could be taken for granted.

To all outward appearances Signor Mussolini seems intent upon a military expedition against the black kingdom and he is going about it with all his usual bluster and braggadocio. And, to remove any further speculation, Il Duce has given up his thin pretext of "precautionary measures," and has finally announced what everyone knew long ago: that Italy intends to make war against Ethiopia "for the glory of Italy," i. e., for imperialistic stealing of the black kingdom's territory for the sole reason that Italy wants it.

Emperor Haile Selassie has been left to shift for himself. For him it may be said that he has tested all the devices and diplomats of the nations which are not colored and which wear shoes, and has found them far less "civilized" than his barefooted legions. If the world is determined to do nothing to avert the war, it might be sport enough to see that the black warriors have all the munitions they can buy and let the best fighters win. Or do they realize that if the Ethiopians get arms and thus prevent a quick victory by Italy, that Mussolini's dictatorship would collapse and bring chaos to Europe?

Pullman Porters Win

THE most significant happening in the month of June was the victory of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters over the company-controlled Pullman Porters and Maids Benefit Association in the balloting to determine which organization the porters wanted to represent them in negotiations with the company. The Brotherhood, an independent A. F. of L. union, had a clear majority of 4,509 votes.

Thus has ended a long, hard, ten-year fight for recognition of the new union. The multi-millionaire Pullman company at first sneered at A. Philip Randolph and his colleagues. But the men rallied to the new leadership. Then the company sought to buy off men and even Negro public opinion. Some years ago there was talk of Negro newspapers having been "influenced" against the union. Through its fake company-union the company used every method against the men who fought to abolish the slave wages and slave hours. There were plenty of people who said the men would never be able to hold out against the powerful corporation. But for ten years the organization held, and today it stands as the chosen representative of the workers with the company.

The next step is to demand an increase in the miserable wages paid and a shortening of the killing hours. Mr. Randolph and his co-workers, including every porter and maid who has fought the good fight without wavering, deserve congratulations and the whole-hearted support of public opinion in the struggles to come.

Joe Louis and Jesse Owens

DESPITE the fact that most Negro publications have remained cool and restrained and sensible on the results of the Louis-Carnera fight in New York, June 25, thus belying their racial label of "emotional," the editor of THE CRISIS pleads guilty to being fairly racial in his reactions in this matter. Louis does thrill us. We are proud of him. We did go into something like ecstasy when he won. But we do not advise our race to hitch its wagon to a boxer, or base its judgments of achievement on the size of a black man's biceps or the speed and power of his left hook. We don't think, however, that the feat of Louis ought to be minimized and we don't think it fair or accurate to state that his success as an individual will have no effect on the fortunes of the rest of his race.

It is easy to fall into enthusiastic error by hewing too closely to the reasoning that the progress of one Negro guarantees the success of all Negroes. It cannot be denied, however, that the spectacular successes of Joe Louis and Jesse Owens, the track star, have aided materially in altering the usual appraisal of Negroes by the rank and file of the American public. If these two mere boys have done nothing more than just awaken curiosity on Negroes in millions of white minds, they have served the race well.

Those who maintain that a Negro historian or editor or philosopher or scientist or composer or singer or poet or painter is more important than a great athlete are on sound ground, but they would be foolish to maintain that these worthy individuals have more power for influence than the athletes. After all, it is not the infinitesimal intellectual America which needs conversion on the race problem; it is the rank and file, the ones who never read a book by DuBois, or heard a lecture by James Weldon Johnson, or scanned a poem of Countee Cullen, or heard a song by Marian Anderson, or waded through a scholarly treatise by Abram L. Harris, Carter Woodson, Charles H. Wesley or Benjamin Brawley. For these millions, who hold the solution of the race problem in their hands, the beautiful breasting of a tape by Jesse Owens and the thud of a glove on the hand of Joe Louis carry more "interracial education" than all the erudite philosophy ever written on race.

Separate School

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in the separate school develop more wholesomely than those of Negroes in the mixed school. As we shall point out, presently, neither one of these propositions has been demonstrated.

Schools Not Job Bureaus

The second allegation of the exponents of the separate school that "in mixed-school systems, Negro teachers, who are *assumed* to be more sympathetic toward Negro pupils, are discriminated against in the matter of employment" is like all other generalizations of this sort,—true in part, questionable if not false in part, and does not necessarily prove the proposition for which it is offered as evidence. The assertion that Negro teachers are more sympathetic toward Negro pupils than white teachers appears to be one of the "questionable-if-not-false" aspects of this generalization. It is significant to note that this claim is made for every occupation involving any considerable amount of competition from the whites, particularly the professions — such as medicine, law, social work, and the like. It should be recognized, too, that this is one of those questions about which much could be said on both sides, because we do not have the facts to decide the point one way or the other. The only frank answer is, we do not know. However, we do know that it is so often true, both in the case of the white and Negro teacher, that teaching, as well as the other professions, is so frequently looked upon as a job rather than as an opportunity to render service that this high-sounding claim appears to be little more than a naïve rationalization of a selfish desire for increased and more assured opportunities for employment.

On the other hand, it is true that, in some instances in the mixed-school system, Negro teachers find it more difficult to get appointed,—sometimes, the difficulty amounting to plain discrimination. To what extent this is true, no one knows; very probably not as much as it is frequently claimed. But does the fact that *some* Negroes find it more difficult to get appointed in a mixed-school situation justify the separate school? It should be pointed out, in the first place, that school systems are for the education of children; not employment bureaus. Moreover, the examples of New York City, Chicago, and other cities, where Negroes have insisted that they be employed as *teachers* rather than as *Negro* teachers, illustrate that if Negroes only make up their minds and fight a little, such discrimination may be reduced to a tolerable minimum, if not actually overcome. Accordingly, the answer to the question of discrimination against Negro teachers need not and should not be a separate school, where Negroes would have a monopoly, but rather should be a persistent and consistent fight to compete for teacherships on equal terms with the whites.

I think that even the exponents of the separate school would have to concede that it would make little, if any, difference whether the separate school might minimize discrimination against Negro pupils or might employ more Negro teachers, if they could not demonstrate rather conclusively the truth of their third allegation,—namely, that the scholastic achievement of Negro pupils is significantly better in the separate school, and that Negro pupils in the separate school develop more wholesome personalities than those in the mixed school.

It has not been demonstrated conclusively, or otherwise, that the scholastic achievement of Negro pupils is any better in the separate school than in the mixed school, or that Negro pupils in the separate school develop any more wholesome personalities than in the mixed school. Professor L. A. Pechstein[2], Dean of the College of Education in the University of Cincinnati, in summarizing an investigation made by one of his students in 1926, stated the following conclusion: ". . . . greater inspiration, greater racial solidarity, superior social activities, greater retention and greater educational achievement are possible for Negroes in separate public schools than in mixed schools."[3] An examination of the study[4] upon which Professor Pechstein based his conclusion not only does not warrant such a conclusion (as will be indicated later), but, what is more significant, some of the facts collected later by two of Professor Pechstein's students do not corroborate, if they do not actually refute, this conclusion.

The first study attempted to test Dr. Pechstein's *hypothesis* that ". . . greater educational achievement is possible for Negroes in separate public schools than in mixed schools." Dr. Mary R. Crowley, one of Professor Pechstein's students, made a study[5] in the Cincinnati public school system, where we have both segregated and mixed schools and where Negroes may choose the type of school they wish to attend. Dr. Crowley concluded, in part, as follows: "The segregated schools of Cincinnati are as effective, on the whole, as are the mixed schools, in their academic training of Negro children."[6] (It is significant to note from Dr. Crowley's statement that she was testing the "hypothesis" that separate schools were just as good as mixed schools in educating Negro children; not that the mixed school was just as good as the separate, or that the separate was better than the mixed.) Dr. Crowley observed further that, "If any true difference exists between the segregated school as compared with the mixed, it is with respect to functions or activities other than those of academic training."[7]

Cleveland and Baltimore

In view of Dr. Crowley's finding, Dr. Inez B. Prosser,[8] another of Professor Pechstein's students, attempted to ascertain whether there was a difference "with respect to functions or activities other than those of academic training." She attempted to assemble the same pupils Dr. Crowley had used the year before, and was successful in securing 32 of the original pairs. To these she administered a number of standard tests. An analysis of Dr. Prosser's results shows that, of the many items upon which these pupils were compared, there were only two instances in which the difference between the two groups was statistically reliable,—and, in these two instances, the reliability coefficients of the tests employed were so low (.27 in one instance) as to make it questionable, to say the least, even to consider them.

Finally, the hypothesis has been advanced that Negro pupils suffer so tremendously under the burden of discrimination in mixed schools that as soon as they reach the compulsory-age limit they drop out of school, and as a consequence there is to be found a significant disparity in the persistence of Negroes in mixed schools as compared with separate schools. This was

(*Continued on page 247*)

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[2] L. A. Pechstein, "The Problem of Negro Education in Northern and Border Cities," *Elementary School Journal*, 30: 192-9, N 1929.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 198.

[4] Jennie D. Porter, "The Problem of Negro Education in Northern and Border Cities." Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1928.

[5] Mary R. Crowley, "Cincinnati's Experiment in Negro Education," JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, 1: 25-33, Ap 1932; also: "Comparison of the Academic Achievements of Cincinnati Negroes in Segregated and Mixed Schools." Unpublished Doctor's dissertation. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1931.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[8] Inez B. Prosser, "Non-Academic Development of Negro Children in Mixed and Segregated Schools." Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation. Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1933; see also: A review of this study by J. St. Clair Price, under the title of, "The Problem of Voluntary Race-Segregation," JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, 3: 269-73, Ap 1934.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

We Don't Want It

Washington, D. C., *Tribune*

Every clear thinking Negro will oppose the creation of an Industrial Commission on Negro Affairs as proposed by Congressman Arthur Mitchell. The commission is nothing more than an attempt to have the government place the stamp of approval on segregation and jim crow.

The so-called commission would have absolutely no powers and would resolve itself into a rubber stamp group. It would merely provide some fine jobs for Negro politicians and would, in no way aid the masses of Negroes who need jobs.

It is unfortunately true that some Negroes, such as Kelly Miller, have compromised with jim crow and are approving this sinister plan, but fortunately this class of Negro leader is decreasing and the young Negro does not endorse jim crow or segregation in any form. Most of the old day are satisfied to be lulled by Negro groups who have had their such schemes.

Of course we have jim crow schools, but we do not approve of them. We have to accept what it takes force to do away with. The brilliant victory won by Charles H. Houston in the University of Maryland case goes for naught if such devilish things as separate and jim crow commissions are fostered and approved by the government.

There is no straddling on this issue. Either one is for or against segregation. What we are forced to take we do so and demand that it be the equal of institutions for whites, but the new Negro will fight segregation in any form wherever its head crops up.

Mr. Mitchell and others would do well to study the Constitution of the United States and insist that that document be enforced. Jim crow commissions would not be necessary and all of our ills would be speedily remedied if the principles on which this country were founded would be adhered to.

All that the Negro wants is the right to live as men the same as other citizens of the United States—nothing more, nothing less. A jim crow commission would only aggravate and not in any way help it.

If Italy goes to war in Africa it will be solely a war of conquest, and without a scintilla of moral justification. Surely the Christianity of the twentieth century should voice disapproval of this practice of the ages of barbarism. In this trying hour may Ethiopia "Stretch out her hands unto God" and may He "Rebuke the company of spearmen" . . . and "Scatter the people that delight in war."—*Africo-American Presbyterian.*

It looks as if Abyssinia and Italy are in for prolonged trouble. Most nations recognize that Italy is attempting to take advantage of the little monarchy, but dare not speak out against what they know is rank injustice.

The League of Nations has passed the buck and now the signers of the Kellogg-Briand pact are afraid to raise their voices fearing complications. They knew this would be the situation when the agreement was made and ought to have contemplated difficulty should they attempt to enforce the agreement.

The trouble is the other nations know their skirts are not clean in this matter of grabbing up small nations or are willing to let this trouble attract Mussolini's attention that he may have no time to molest them.—Iowa *Bystander.*

Now that the Louis-Carnera encounter is a matter of history, allow us to make three recommendations for the Congress of Cock-eyed Commentators. First, Mr. Westbrook Pegler of the New York *World-Telegram,* who foresaw extensive bloodshed if the Ambling Alp were defeated. Second, Mr. Arthur Brisbane of the New York *American,* who loudly echoed Mr. Pegler's fears. And last, but not least, the unidentified editorial writer of the *Communist Daily Worker* who picked up the torch and carried on after events had swept his predecessors into oblivion.

If the *Daily Worker* really wanted to help an oppressed race, it might have warned Negroes not to be swept off their feet by the result of a prizefight. It might have pointed out that the basic problems of the Negro in America will never be solved by the personal triumph of Joe Louis or any other individual. It might have commented on the fact that Italian and Negro workers sat side by side at the Louis-Carnera encounter and walked out of the Yankee Stadium to face their own battles together, instead of justifying the fears of the Brisbanes and Peglers. But any of these approaches was probably too "logical" for the *Daily Worker.*

If it is true that "capitalism degrades everything it touches," it is probably no less true that our present brand of Communism twists everything that touches on the Negro question.—*Amsterdam News.*

Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has yanked out an old saw-horse in his proposed Federal Commission on Negro Affairs. Of course it is to be made up of Aframerican gentry, and that is the attractive part to a few who aspire to positions thereon. The St. Louis *American* is opposed to this attempt to glorify segregation via a few elevations of ambitious individuals. Believing in the ultimate all-inclusiveness of the name it bears—"American"—this newspaper can read no place in the present or future for any form of segregation in the United States. Opposition to Congressman Mitchell's proposed bill has been expressed by practically the entire colored press, also by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.—St. Louis *American.*

We have wondered how and why the spiritualist rackets continue to thrive with impunity in Harlem. Foremost among the religious fakers who are barnacles on Harlem and not for the salvation of souls or the service of humanity, but after the hard earned savings of the people, is one who has done business for many years as a professor. In order to comply with and escape the law, he has added a reverend prefix to the title of professor. The sham is as thin as the burnt cork on a minstrel's face. He, like most of the spiritualist mediums, resorts in a racket on religion. The police know of it, the District Attorney knows it, yet covered by the mantle of a fictitious church they get away with thousands of dollars annually from Harlem's poorest people.—New York *News.*

A Negro in the CCC

By Luther C. Wandall

The author is a New Yorker and gives here a first hand picture of C C C life

DURING the two years of its previous existence I had heard many conflicting reports concerning the Civilian Conservation Corps, President Roosevelt's pet project. One boy told me that he almost froze to death one night out in Washington. Some said that the colored got all the leftovers. Others said that everything was all right. But my brother, who is a World War veteran, advised me emphatically: "I wouldn't be in anything connected with the Army."

So it was with some apprehension that I surveyed the postal card instructing me to see Miss A. at the Home Relief Bureau the following Friday. At this Bureau I signed a paper, of which I kept two copies, and the Bureau one. This paper asserted that I was "accepted for enrollment," and should report the following Monday "to U. S. Army authorities for further registration."

One thing I saw at the Bureau increased my apprehension. So many of the boys who appeared in answer to cards were excused because they had been "dishonorably discharged" in a previous enlistment. It was impossible to tell whether they were disappointed or not, but they were not always discreditable-looking persons.

According to instructions, I went Monday morning at 8 o'clock to Pier 1, North River. There were, I suppose, more than 1,000 boys standing about the pier. And here I got another shock. Many of the boys carried suitcases. I had not been instructed that we would leave that day. But still, I reasoned, we would be given time to go home and tell our folks goodbye.

The colored boys were a goodly sprinkling of the whole. A few middle-aged men were in evidence. These, it turned out, were going as cooks. A good many Spaniards and Italians were about. A good-natured, lively, crowd, typical of New York.

At eight o'clock we were rapidly admitted to the pier, given papers and herded into the warehouse, out on the water. And here the "fun" began. A few boys were being admitted from time to time to a lower platform through a small gate in the center. And, of course, everyone in that mob was anxious to get there.

At first there was a semblance of order. The men in charge of us formed us into companies of fifty as we came up. But suddenly a U. S. Army officer in full uniform entered the door. A mighty roar went up from the boys, who surged forward, evidently thinking that they could follow him. But the officer, a tall handsome fellow, moving with easy grace, completely ignored them, and passed on through.

With some effort we were finally forced back into a so-called line. But a newspaper photographer appeared. The line broke again, and after that confusion reigned for the most part.

There were no seats where we were. So I stood about until two o'clock before I finally got through that little gate. We answered questions, and signed papers, and then a group of us marched over to U. S. Army headquarters on Whitehall Street in charge of an Army officer.

Here we stripped for a complete physical examination. Then we were grouped into busloads. Each busload of 35 ate a meal at South Ferry before boarding the bus. This meal consisted of beans, pickles, bread, coffee and butter, and was eaten out of Army mess-kits.

So there I was, on a bus bound for Camp Dix, New Jersey, without having prepared or told anyone goodbye. Our bus was comfortable, and equipped with a radio, so the ride was a very enjoyable one.

Jim Crow at Camp Dix

We reached Camp Dix about 7:30 that evening. As we rolled up in front of headquarters an officer came out to the bus and told us: "You will double-time as you leave this bus, remove your hat when you hit the door, and when you are asked questions, answer 'Yes, sir,' and 'No, sir.'"

And here it was that Mr. James Crow first definitely put in his appearance. When my record was taken at Pier 1, a "C" was placed on it. When the busloads were made up at Whitehall street an officer reported as follows: "35, 8 colored." But until now there had been no distinction made.

But before we left the bus the officer shouted emphatically: "Colored boys fall out in the rear." The colored from several buses were herded together, and stood in line until after the white boys had been registered and taken to their tents. This seemed to be the established order of procedure at Camp Dix.

This separation of the colored from the whites was complete and rigidly maintained at this camp. One Puerto Rican, who was darker than I, and who preferred to be with the colored, was regarded as pitifully uninformed by the officers.

While we stood in line there, as well as afterwards, I was interested to observe these officers. They were contradictory, and by no means simple or uniform in type. Many of them were southerners, how many I could not tell. Out of their official character they were usually courteous, kindly, refined, and even intimate. They offered extra money to any of us who could sing or dance. On the other hand, some were vicious and ill-tempered, and apparently restrained only by fear.

Southerners at West Point! Emotional, aristocratic, with refined features and soft blue eyes. And paradoxically they choose the Army for a career. Slaves to traditions and fetishes. . . .

We were finally led away to our tents. And such tents! They were the worst in Camp Dix. Old, patched, without floors or electric lights. It was dark already, so we went to bed immediately, by candlelight. And since it was cold, we slept in most, and in some cases all, of our clothes.

The bedding was quite ample: four blankets, two sheets, and a pillowcase. But Camp Dix is a cold place, and the condition of our tents didn't help. Then, too, it was raining.

Next day we rose at 6:15. There was roll call and "mess." A few minutes later we were shocked to see snow falling, on April 16! The boys built a fire, so we were able to keep somewhat warm. Then there was another questionnaire, and more papers to sign.

Southerners Plentiful

By now only one thought occupied my mind: When do I leave this place? I understood that Camp Dix was only a replacement camp, and that we would be leaving, probably within a week. So you can imagine my feelings when an officer, a small quiet fellow, obviously a southerner, asked me how I would like to stay in Camp Dix permanently as his clerk! This officer was very courteous, and seemed to be used to colored people, and like them. I declined his offer.

We slept six in a tent. And right here I might attempt to describe the class of young men I found myself with. Two things surprised me: that out of the whole crowd, I had known not one in New York, and that almost without exception they were of a very low order of culture. Such low ideals. Of course

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The Negro Student Prefers Prejudice

By Gustavus Adolphus Steward

A FEW months ago THE CRISIS published two articles about race prejudice at Oberlin. One of these articles deplored certain conditions which showed that an anti-Negro attitude had crept into the little Ohio town and college which are honored far and wide for their militant liberalism and their hundred-year-old tradition of elementary democracy. The other, appearing subsequently, while not denying the facts cited in the previous statement, attempted an explanation of the changing outlook on race, repeated incidents in Oberlin's history to prove its unswerving loyalty to the Christian ideal of its founders, and lauded the school for its undeniable and broadening contribution to the American conception of human freedom. Complaints of anti-Negro sentiment in those institutions of higher learning which admit colored students have been and are commonly heard. Not so many years ago Negroes were agitated about the "quota system" of admission proposed at Harvard. Only the other day the University of Pennsylvania refused to house Negro women from Howard invited to attend a convention there, while the legislature of the Keystone State has just concluded an investigation into anti-Negro policy at the University of Pittsburgh. Michigan and Wisconsin have not escaped disquieting racial questions involving dormitory privileges, admission to honorary societies, or entrance into athletic contests. Illustrations could be multiplied to show that in American colleges and universities prejudice against Negroes is nothing new.

It is not new even at Oberlin. During my student days there I had my own experience with race prejudice. A required course in public speaking was offered by a certain Professor Caskey. In the class, an East Indian, a Japanese and I were the only non-whites. The assignment was a portion of a declamation by a southern orator which villified the American Negro. Called upon to recite the quotation, various students repeated it without the enthusiasm which Professor Caskey thought desirable. He stated that the author felt the hatred of Negroes which the lines expressed, and told the next speaker that he must put similar feeling into the words if they were to reflect truthfully the writer's meaning. The student faltered. "Haven't you any race prejudice?" asked the professor. "No," said

Mr. Steward, a graduate of Oberlin and a close observer of student life at Ohio State University in Columbus, thinks Negro students must prefer prejudice since they do so little to fight it

the reddening young man. "Well, I have," continued Caskey. "Indeed, I have so much of it that I confess that were I going to be hanged I would prefer to be hanged by a white man than by a Negro." Although later the teacher denied to the dean that he had made these remarks which thirty or forty young men had heard, they showed that the feeling of race antipathy was at that time present in Oberlin. That was in 1904. Years afterwards, when the World War was at its height, Oberlin alumni were startled by what seemed to be an abject surrender of principle. From the units of military training there, Negro students were transferred to Wilberforce, where such units were made up entirely of colored boys. The probability is that there have always been and always will be individuals at Oberlin who cannot or will not subscribe to her equalitarian creed.

Refined Prejudice

If Caskey's manner of expressing himself was at that time unusual, it certainly was more forthright than the current mode of registering professorial disfavor against the black student. Nowadays the refined code which reflects the cultured sentiments of the college instructor is more subtle. It excludes anything so crude as a frank avowal of racial animosity. Instead it quietly ignores the presence of Negro students in the class room, studiously overlooks calling on them for recitations, and sends waves of embarrassment over them by telling "darkey jokes" or by repeating statistics covering the prevalence of crime, bastardy and diseases of filth in the section of the town where "white supremacy" forces them to crowd. It is therefore hardly possible to deny, in view of recurring confirmatory instances, that the same feeling which Professor Caskey so bluntly exhibited still pervades American collegiate institutions. And that sentiment is common alike to student and faculty, in privately endowed as well as in state supported schools. To give demonstration to this statement, I am setting down here certain items regarding anti-Negro prejudice at Ohio State University. Ohio State is not singled out because it is alone guilty or even more culpable than other schools. The situation there appears to be typical. Moreover, I know something about it. And I believe that what is hapening to Negroes there is happening to them at other similar centers of learning.

Persistent reports state that prejudice against Negro students at Ohio's biggest educational institution is everywhere evident. Stories of unfairness in certain colleges, in class room, in extra-curricular pursuits are widely current. When a Doris Weaver case breaks through to the press, to the legislature and finally to the courts, these reports receive definite substantiation. Of course, the university itself is not *officially* prejudiced against any group or class. The law, first of all, forbids that. In the next place any such open declaration would bring down upon the administration, from high educational authorities and from national professorial associations, from liberal editors and the radical press, from thundering pulpiteers and vote-cornering politicians, an avalanche of deserved criticism. For Americans render valiant lip service to their goddess Democracy, even if in practice they honor her more in betrayal than in devotion. Nevertheless, where there is so large a number of Americans assembled in one place, as at Ohio State, the traditional American attitude towards darker races is certain to manifest itself. There will be individuals and groups of students reflecting that attitude in those school functions called extra-curricular. There will be faculty members likewise who will be dominated by it. So that it is no less than trite to declare that anti-Negro prejudice is a part of the life at Ohio State, although never officially or openly recognized. Indeed, not so long ago there came into my hands a pamphlet put out by the National Student League at the Columbus institution listing quite definitely anti-Negro acts and policies the school had accepted. And in a recent communication to *The Ohio State News*, Hyman Tepletsky, an official of the N.S.L. wrote:

"The Ohio State University is a familiar example where Negroes are segregated, prohibited the use of places, excluded from certain honorary societies, and where permitted, are forced to do an overproportionate share of the

work. The lot of Negro students who wish to work their way through school is made doubly hard by the fact that they are usually barred from all but the most menial and least remunerative forms of employment."

The failure of Bucket and Dipper, sophomore honorary society which seeks for its membership outstanding athletes, to elect Jesse Owens was such a glaringly inept display of anti-Negro feeling that published comment upon it has been widspread and bitingly sarcastic. Such facts make it plain that race prejudice definitely exists at Ohio State. Similar facts might be assembled to prove that it as definitely exists in other colleges.

Students Apathetic

What is to be done about it? This question is addressed not to university administrations, not to white students, but to Negroes attending college. For whatever is done will be done with their support and can hardly be done without it. Fortunately there are agencies organized right on the various campuses willing to correct the situation. But willing as these agencies may be, their task is made difficult, if not impossible, if on the part of the very people they want to serve they encounter only indifference, lack of appreciation, or active obstruction. And believe it or not, fear of change, fear of "red" infection, but above all, fear of professorial reprisal, creates in the average Negro student a paralyzing hesitancy which descends through hidebound conservatism to downright apathy. A man who travels about addressing student organizations writes me as follows:

"Back home to civilization after an extended stay in the jungles of Ohio colleges where I found many interesting flora and fauna, particularly the species *Africanus*. In all instances, the Negro student was the most conservative of the lot and in general the least interesting. He knew nothing of world affairs, cared nothing of world affairs. . . . The Negro student in Ohio—and I believe he is better off there than in any other northern colleges—is a flop, a dodo, a misfit, and a parasite. . . . I think that by reputation at least the Ohio State contingent is at the rear, the University of Cincinnati group ahead of the pack. These at Oberlin, however, are more open minded. . . ."

Making allowance for any overstatements this excerpt may contain, I think it is nevertheless true that Negro students in northern colleges are so afraid of being active in any movement designed to emancipate them that they take refuge in the sort of immovable stand-pattism which is scarcely distinguishable from obstructionism. I illustrate.

Last year I heard a young white student at Ohio State make a public plea for support of colored people in what The Interracial Council there was trying to do. Later, three or more colored students urged him to take the lead in forming and executing a social program intended to emphasize interracial amity. He arranged the program. It was carried out. But the small group who had persuaded him to take the initiative abandoned him before the program was consummated. I was told that their parents suggested that it might operate against them in their scholastic records if they participated in such a radical departure from accepted customs at the school. And when it was all over the young man who had assumed this responsibility was socially "cut"—not by his white fellow students, but by the colored ones!!!

A second instance. Not so long ago a demonstration on behalf of the Scottsboro boys was organized on the campus at Ohio State. Newspaper pictures showed not a single distinguishable colored face in the crowds taking part. I made inquiries concerning their absence. I was told that Negro students, learning that the demonstration was to take place, met in a group and voted not to appear. Their reason was that the affair was "communist inspired," but I suspect that the real reason was downright fear.

Such instances of misguided behavior show exactly what Negroes should not do if they want to eliminate race prejudice from the American college campus.

CHARLES GORDON THOMPSON
Highest Honor Student
Bluefield State

On the positive side they should cooperate with all agencies which seek to abolish that un-American attitude from the American school. They must support these agencies in every way, by membership when that is asked, by contribution when they are solicited, by speaking up for their work when that is desirable, and by personal presence in fights made in the colored student's behalf.

Survey Needed

Secondly, they should, with the help of these agencies, get all the facts. When a department at a university wants all the facts in a selected situation it institutes a survey. A survey of race prejudice at a given university should be begun at once. This would be a concrete and valuable task for fraternities and sororities which fritter away so much time in the superficialities of weekly meetings and the frivolities of parties and proms. The survey should proceed without noise, without bias, and without heat. It should take time—plenty of time. It should embrace every phase of college life. Admission to this or that college, department, course; class room procedure and scholarship grading; dormitory accommodations, athletic qualifications, honor society constitutions; all these and more should be subjects of the inquiry. Facts and figures assembled and interpreted, backed up by case histories, would then be available.

If these facts and figures and personal experiences showed unmistakably that race prejudice existed, openly practiced but officially denied, then the next step would be to lay the results of this impartial study before the proper administrative heads and ask for correction. That failing, the matter should be followed through. The trustee board should be asked to study the report and in the light of its findings make the corrections recommended. The board might find it expedient to ignore or gloss over these findings with a pretty speech about Americanism and the principles laid down by the founding fathers. In which case it might be necessary to go to the legislature for a committee hearing, or to the courts to force the institution to obey the constitution. It might be even necessary as a last resort, to publish the report and distribute it widely throughout the nation. But it is my guess that something satisfactory would happen before that drastic measure could be adopted.

The cure for the complaint is, first, undisputed establishment of the fact that anti-Negro prejudice exists; and second, intelligent use of this proof to eliminate it.

Separate School

(*Continued from page 242*)

one of the main theses of Dr. Jennie Porter's study,[9] mentioned above. Dr. Porter found, as others have found, that: "A comparison of mixed and separate schools in Northern cities shows that there are more Negro graduates, more Negro principals, and more Negro teachers in schools separately organized than in mixed schools."[10] Thus, she concludes with Professor Pechstein that, ". . . there is a greater retention . . . in a separate public school than in a mixed school."

The fallacy here I think is immediately apparent,—you can not make such comparisons on the basis of *absolute* numbers,—but I wish to add that when comparable cities are selected and persistence is measured in *relative* instead of *absolute* numbers you get something more nearly approximating the truth. Just to take one example, let us take Baltimore, which has separate schools, and Cleveland, which has mixed schools, and compare them on the basis of the degree to which Negro pupils persist in school, as indicated by the relative proportion of Negro pupils of high school age (15–19) who are in high school, and as to the proportion of the pupils enrolled in high school who graduated in 1930–31. (These two cities are selected mainly because they are very similar in general character of population and because we are fairly confident of the accuracy of our facts in these two instances.) The comparison reveals that in Baltimore, only 20 per cent of the Negro pupils of high-school age (15–19) were enrolled in high school; while in Cleveland, 27 per cent were enrolled in high school. In Baltimore, *only* 12 per cent of the Negro pupils enrolled in high school graduated in 1930–31; while in Cleveland 15.5 per cent of the Negro pupils in high school graduated. Moreover, proportionately as many Negro pupils were enrolled in and graduated from high school in Cleveland as whites in either Cleveland or Baltimore; and significantly fewer Negro pupils proportionately were enrolled in and graduated from high school in Baltimore than either whites in Baltimore or Negroes or whites in Cleveland.[11] Although these differences are statistically significant, and it is obvious that Negro pupils in the separate schools of Baltimore do not show as great a degree of persistence as the Negro pupils in the mixed schools of Cleveland, yet it is not my intention to conclude that, therefore, the persistence of Negro pupils in mixed-school systems is greater than it is in separate school systems. But, I do wish to emphasize as strongly as I can that such facts as these (and we are in the process of collecting others) show definitely that it has not been proved conclusively, or otherwise, that the separate school has any demonstrated advantages over the mixed school, in the retention of Negro pupils.

[9] Jennie D. Porter, *op. cit.*
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 196.

Separation Promotes Mis-education

Enough has been said I think amply to justify the contention that it has not been demonstrated that the separate school has any advantages over the mixed school, either in promoting scholastic achievement, or in developing wholesome personalities, or in holding pupils in school. The fact of the matter is, the inadequate data which have been collected would seem to indicate the reverse, if anything. But, even if it could be shown that the separate school possessed most or all of the advantages that its exponents claim, I think it still would be an open question whether its disadvantages did not outweigh its advantages.

[11] The facts employed in this comparison were obtained from the following sources: Relative to Baltimore,—*One Hundred and Second Annual Report of the Board of School Commissioners*, June 30, 1931; relative to Cleveland,—Alonzo G. Grace, "The Effect of Negro Migration on the Cleveland Public School System," Unpublished Doctor's Dissertation, Cleveland: Western Reserve University, 1932.

In the first place, the separate school is generally uneconomical, and frequently financially burdensome. Except in very large cities where the Negro population is fairly dense, separate schools mean costly duplication of facilities and an unreasonable increase in school expenditures. Consequently, where sufficient funds are not available to support decent schools for both whites and Negroes, and even in many cases where they are sufficient, it is the Negro school that suffers, and there is very little that is done about it. Those who argue that the separate school with equal facilities is superior to the mixed school with prejudice should know that the separate school, or separate anything, with equal facilities is a fiction. Separation in any form with equal facilities does not exist anywhere,—not even in Washington, D. C., where Negroes have more nearly substantially equal facilities than in any other separate system.

In the second place, not only is the separate school un-economical and undemocratic but it results in the *mis*-education of both races. Separation of the two racial groups, at an early age, when they should be learning to know and respect each other, develops anti-racial and provincial attitudes in both, and necessitates, in adulthood, re-education against tremendous odds. The net results of such an educational policy are that the Negro develops an almost uneradicable inferiority complex and evolves a set of Jim Crow standards and values; the white child develops an unwarranted sense of superiority,—if not an actual contempt for or indifference towards the Negro. And both races develop a misunderstanding of each other that necessitates all of the expensive and ineffective race-relations

(*Continued on page 252*)

Frank Jackson Wingfield
Honor Student
West Virginia State

Dorothy Helen Hansley
Ranking Student
Delaware State College

Clayton H. Jordan
Cum laude
Virginia Theo. Seminary

Agnes L. M. Roe
B.S.
Langston University

Theodore S. Ledbetter
B.D.
Atlanta University

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

St. Louis Host to 26th Annual Conference

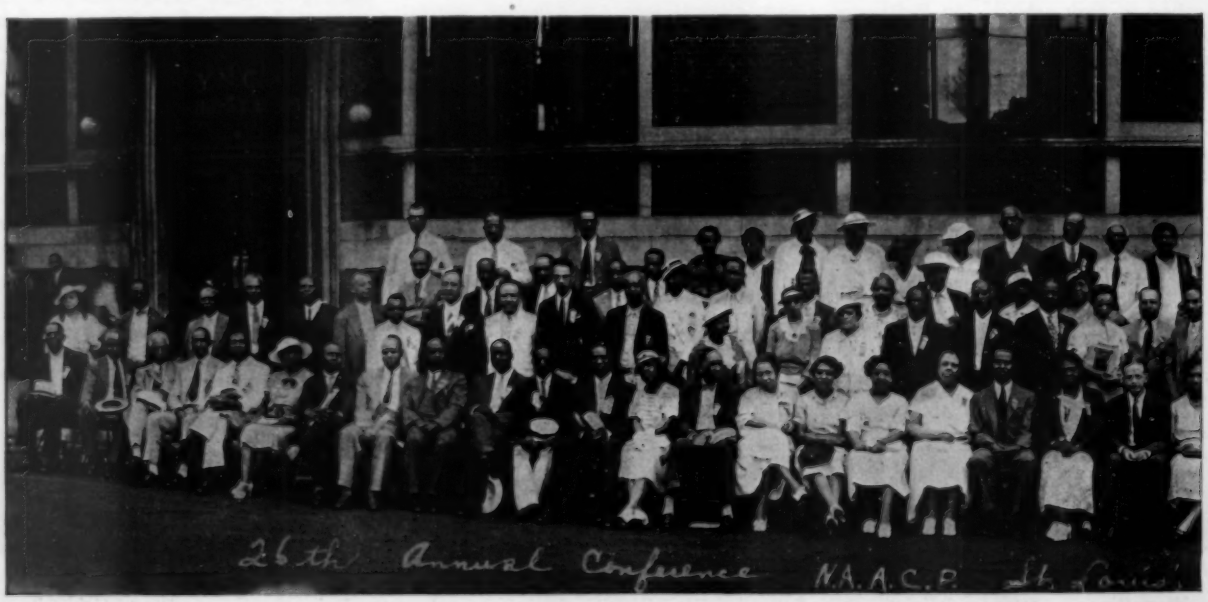
IN many respects the 26th annual conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which was held in St. Louis June 25–30 inclusive, was the best annual gathering in the last six years. Delegates were present from twenty-six states, coming from as far west as California and as far east as New York. There was, as might have been expected, a heavy representation from the Central South and from the upper Mississippi Valley states. For the first time in several years, New Orleans had a delegate from both its senior and junior branches.

While the central location of St. Louis undoubtedly spurred attendance, the scheduled discussion of the new plan and program of the Association was the magnet which drew delegates to the meeting and which formed the topic of conversation throughout the sessions.

The evening mass meetings, held in Vashon high school auditorium, attracted good crowds despite heavy downpours of rain on the opening night and on Friday night, when the Spingarn medal was presented to Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune. The closing Sunday afternoon mass meeting, held in the opera house of the new municipal auditorium, attracted more than 2,000 persons, who heard Miss Josephine Roche, assistant secretary of the treasury, and Walter White, secretary of the N. A. A. C. P. Other speakers at the evening mass meetings were A. Philip Randolph, J. E. Spingarn, Howard Kester, Hubert T. Delany, Dr. Elmer Arndt, John P. Davis, Mrs. Bethune, and Dean William Pickens, who presented the Spingarn Medal to Mrs. Bethune. The ever increasing importance of the economic plight of Negro Americans was evidenced in the fact that Mr. Randolph, Mr. Kester, Mr. Delany, and Mr. Davis devoted their addresses to some aspect of this topic; while Mr. Spingarn, delivering the keynote address on the opening night, touched upon the economic status of colored people as a reason for altering the program of the Association. In her plea for a new social and economic order, Miss Roche also touched upon the position of the Negro in the American scene; while Dr. Arndt, in discussing the development of Fascism, pictured the situation of colored Americans with respect to that political philosophy.

In the daytime discussions, which were more largely and faithfully attended this year than in many years past, the delegates engaged in lively and penetrating discussion of various phases of the problems facing colored people, with particular attention to jobs and economic opportunities. A goodly part of one day was given over to a consideration of the predicament of sharecroppers and tenant farmers in the South, with Ward H. Rodgers, organizer of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union of Arkansas, and Mrs. Jones, a colored sharecropper from the Middle South, holding the delegates spellbound by their recital of the oppression and robbery of both white and colored sharecroppers, and the efforts now under way to improve their condition.

The entire session on Friday was devoted to a discussion of the proposed new plan and program of the Association, which was adopted with only minor amendments by the delegates. The new plan proposes the adoption of economic education by the Association and the perfection of machinery to speed the improvement of the ecenomic plight of Negro workers. It provides, also, for some structural changes in the organization of the Association: for the setting up of regional areas with employed secretaries as soon as funds will permit, for the enlargement of the board of directors to forty-eight members, and the increase of the number of vice-presidents to ten, and for the election by the annual conference each year of three members of the nominating committee which nominates members of the



DELEGATES TO THE 26TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE

board of directors. Also is outlined in the program an expanded and detailed program of interracial education among adults, college, secondary and elementary school students.

In accordance with the provisions of the new plan and program, the conference at St. Louis elected as members of the nominating committee A. T. Walden, of Atlanta, Ga., Irvin C. Mollison, of Chicago, Ill., and Roscoe Dunjee, of Oklahoma City, Okla.

One of the high points of the conference was the address of Angelo Herndon, whose conviction to a Georgia chain gang is now being appealed to the United States supreme court. For the first time in the history of the Association, moving pictures of conditions in the South, of schools, of the TVA operations, of construction camps along the Mississippi levees, and of rural relief activities were shown at the evening sessions, and these proved to be tremendously popular. It is likely that the Association will enlarge this activity and will try to arrange to present more and more films, not only at the annual conference, but at large meetings arranged by branches and at state conferences.

Greetings were received from President and Mrs. Roosevelt, Governor Guy B. Park of Missouri, Senator Arthur Capper, Oswald Garrison Villard, Norman Thomas, Mary White Ovington, Charles Edward Russell, Dr. Louis T. Wright, the Socialist Party executive committee, the International Labor Defense, and others. The St. Louis branch was an ideal host, providing every facility for carrying on the business of the conference and, in addition, arranging enjoyable entertainment for the delegates. The musical programs provided by St. Louis talent, and especially the combined choir-chorus at the Sunday afternoon meeting, were commented upon by many delegates.

Roscoe Dunjee, president of the Oklahoma State Conference of Branches, was presented the Merit medal for 1934, at the Sunday meeting, for his work in the Jess Hollins case.

The conference voted to meet in Baltimore, Maryland, in 1936.

The resolutions adopted by the conference follow:

As the economic crisis deepens the plight of twelve million American Negroes worsens. Discriminiation in employment, in works and other relief, and in other ways, continue, particularly in those sections of the country where eight million, or two-thirds, of the Negro population of the United States live. Notable in such discrimination is the edict from Washington establishing monthly wages of $19 and $21 respectively in regions 3 and 4 under the Works Relief Act; it is no accident that in the expenditure of the four billion, eight hundred and eighty million dollars appropriated by the Congress, the taxes for the raising of which are extracted by the federal government from the pockets of black men at the same rate as white, wages far below the level of decent subsistence should be established for those states in which the bulk of the Negro population of America resides.

Collapse of the cotton market and of the antiquated credit system of the south, the unmitigated terrorism used to perpetuate economic, political and social enslavement of Negroes in the south, combined with indifference, vacillation and weakness at Washington, are creating even more insufferable conditions not only for Negroes in the south and elsewhere but are working irreparable harm upon white Americans as well.

We, therefore, in the name of twelve million American Negroes and of many white Americans who are superior to race prejudice, do pledge ourselves to renewed and increased struggle against these conditions. We do this in no spirit of racial selfishness. We conceive our struggle to be for better conditions for all Americans in that it is a self-evident truth that there can be no lasting peace or justice for any race as long as one race can be exploited because of racial, religious or other prejudice.

If the American Negro is to sustain himself in an effective existence in this country, and some day be lifted from the threat of pauperism, there must be developed everywhere, not only interracial contacts in the field of labor, but also in the business world.

We urge, therefore, that everywhere in America more attention be given by Negroes to independent and interracial ventures in the business world.

Business Education

We urge the colleges devoted to the education of Negro youth to introduce and develop adequate courses in business in order to help make our race more self supporting.

Lynching

We vigorously and unequivocally condemn the impudent and disgraceful filibuster led by a small reactionary bloc in the United States Senate against the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill. The temporary success in preventing orderly debate and vote by the Congress is a surrender by the federal government to the lowest element in our national life. To surrender was a confession of the impotence of the federal government to protect its own citizens. Lynching, as the most dramatic form of racial bigotry, is a test of the sincerity and integrity of the Congress and of the nation. We do not accept any excuses of alleged unconstitutionality for failure of each individual member of the Congress vigorously to fight for the passage of this bill. The Judiciary Committee of the Senate and other distinguished jurists with social vision declared the Costigan-Wagner bill to be constitutional. We urge all those who are opposed to lynching, both Negro and white, to qualify without fail for voting, especially in the pivotal states, and to register with their ballots, in primaries and general elections, their unequivocal disapproval of all those who opposed or were indifferent to the Costigan-Wagner bill, and to give their support to those courageous members of both houses of Congress, regardless of party affiliation, who did their duty. We must let enemies of the bill know that we will accept no excuse.

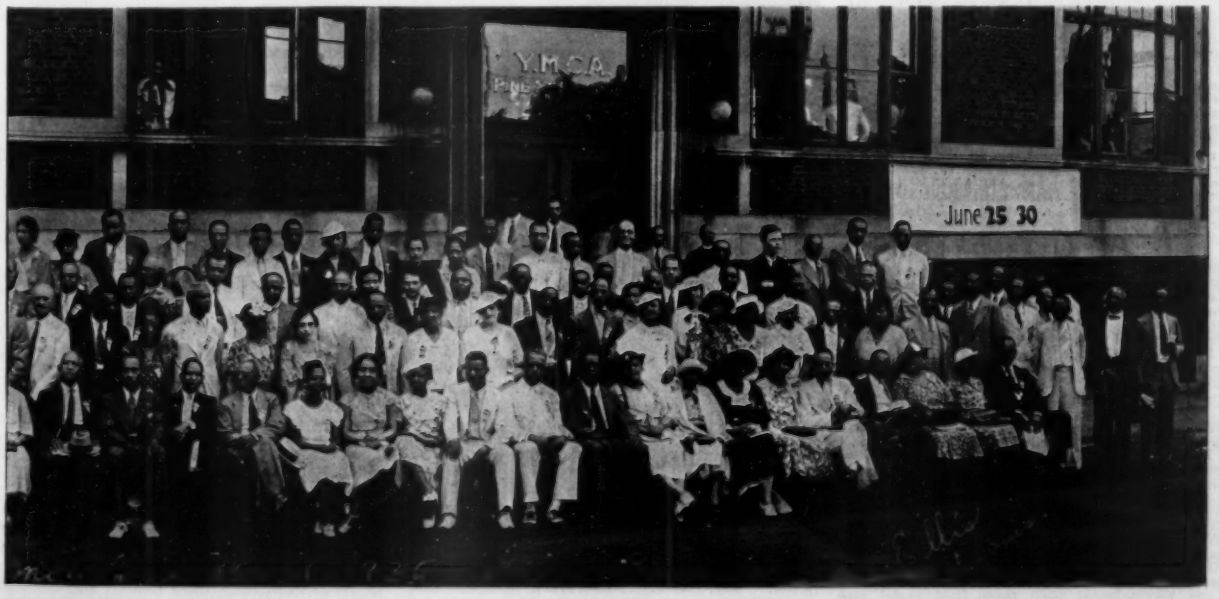
We express our deep appreciation to those organizations with a total membership of more than fifty million Americans who have endorsed the bill. Especially do we appreciate the efforts of those who have worked hard and faithfully for passage. We urge more effective work in the next stages of the struggle by those who have thus far limited their endorsement to moral support.

Agriculture

We vigorously condemn the widespread discrimination against sharecroppers and agricultural workers generally, both Negro and white, under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the shameless and unrebuked stealing of government cheques made out to sharecroppers and tenant farmers; the economy of scarcity through the destruction of crops and other abuses which have flourished. We condemn the suppression of reports of conditions affecting sharecroppers, such as the Myers report, and the ignoring of complaints against maladministration, fraud and dishonesty.

We are unalterably opposed to the present form of the Bankhead farm tenant corporation bill.

We vigorously condemn the flagrant violation of the rights of sharecroppers and agricultural workers generally by planters, their retainers and officers of the law to organize themselves into unions for their own protection. We further condemn the terrorism and violence waged against these workers by planters, their representatives and officers of the law. We call upon all Americans to protest these fascist practices, and to forward the struggles of disinherited and enslaved farm workers in all possible ways.



OF THE N.A.A.C.P. IN ST. LOUIS, MO., JUNE 25-30, 1935

Work Relief Act

We vigorously condemn the setting of monthly wages in regions 3 and 4, embracing the states of Arkansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas, Virginia and of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina and Tennessee, respectively, at the subnormal figures of $19 and $21. In the setting up of machinery for administration of the Works Relief Act we urge the appointment of qualified Negroes, as Deputy Administrators in each state where Negroes constitute any appreciable portion of the population. We urge that Negroes be integrated into all Work Relief projects on the basis of actual need and proportionate population and that the utmost vigilance be exercised by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration to prevent discrimination.

White Primary

We urge upon the Congress the passage immediately of adequate laws against barring of qualified Negro voters from the so-called white primary of certain southern states.

While we do not believe political action to be a panacea, we realize fully that the ballot is a potent weapon. We, therefore, urge upon Negro voters throughout the United States to qualify, and vigorously and unselfishly utilize their ballots without regard to political party or creed in their own and the public's best interests.

Education

We hail the victory won in the trial court in Maryland for educational equality in the granting of a writ of mandamus for the admission of a qualified Negro student to the School of Law of the tax-supported University of Maryland. This is the opening step in the persistent campaign we must and will wage against every form of discrimination and segregation of all branches of education.

Legal Defense

The rights of Negroes in courts of law are today gravely endangered. We pledge our support to the defense of Jess Hollins in Oklahoma; Brown, Ellington and Shields in Mississippi; Angelo Herndon in Georgia; the Scottsboro boys in Alabama and other Negro victims of injustice in whose cases fundamental rights are involved.

The South

We hail the growth of courageous opinion in the south, especially as seen among younger, more intelligent southerners, both white and colored, and in the press. We pledge ourselves to do all we can in the development of enlightened self-interest among the increasing number of white southerners who see they can never progress as long as the Negro is oppressed.

Labor

We welcome the growth of labor consciousness but we again warn the leadership of organized white labor, especially American Federation of Labor and railroad brotherhoods, they can never attain freedom for their groups by climbing on the backs of black labor. We urge all workers, white and black, to speed industrial as against craft unionism. We hail the recent victory of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Legal Defense

We urge the responsible officers in all states and in the federal judiciary system to give full recognition to the right of Negro citizens to jury service the same as all other citizens, without evasion, subterfuge, or procrastination. We further urge all Negroes who are brought before juries to insist that there be no discrimination on account of race or color in the selection of their juries not only as a means of securing for themselves the equal protection of the laws but also of insisting on the participation of Negro citizens in the administration of justice in all states and the federal courts.

Italy and Ethiopia

We unequivocally condemn Italian aggression in Ethiopia and the imperialist selfishness of all nations in their shameless aggression upon the sovereignty of other nations, and we vigorously urge the President and the Department of State, to voice publicly their disapproval of the Italian government's action in Ethiopia. We urge the United States government to put itself squarely on record against encroachment.

Haiti

We regret and condemn the suppression of free speech by the Vincent administration in the Republic of Haiti, and the imprisonment of critics of the Vincent government, among them such distinguished Haitians as Jacques Roumain, poet and patriot.

Gag Laws

We condemn the forces which are pressing for passage by the Congress and by the several state legislatures of laws against the rights of free speech, free assemblage and a free press. Whenever there is any encroachment upon these fundamental constitutional principles minority groups, like the Negro, are the first to suffer. Fascism with all of its evils can be postponed or prevented only by maintenance of traditional American adherence to the principles of free speech.

St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* Photo.

Mrs. Mary McLeod Bethune and Miss Josephine Roche at the St. Louis N.A.A.C.P. Conference

New Program for the N. A. A. C. P.

We approve and pledge our financial, moral and active support to the broadened program of the N. A. A. C. P. We shall intensify our efforts to make our organization an even more effective machine for justice to all men regardless of race or color.

Appreciation

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in its 26th Annual Conference expressed thanks and deep appreciation to the St. Louis Branch of the N. A. A. C. P. and to the citizens and city of St. Louis for the hospitality extended the delegation and visitors.

Branch News

The **Philadelphia, Pa.**, branch closed its membership drive recently by raising $1,125. As a prize to the person bringing in the most money over $100, the branch offered a week-end round-trip to New York City and this was won by Isadore Martin who brought in $201. Mr. Martin, however, declined the prize in favor of Miss Susan Masseaux who brought in $115. Miss Masseaux has been a loyal worker for the Association for many years. A third prize was won by John M. Brown and the fourth by Miss Annie L. McDougald. The following workers brought in $25 or more: Earle L. Huff, Mrs. Katie Greene, Miss Nellie Freeman, Mrs. Mellie M. Brinkley, John R. Gilmore, Mrs. M. Louisa Augusta, Herbert E. Millen and Miss Harriet G. Conway.

Dean Pickens was the principal speaker at the Founders' Day banquet of Bethel A.M.E. Church in **Marion, Ind.**, June 14. The banquet was sponsored by the Ambassador Forum, the youth division of the N.A.A.C.P. Representative Henry J. Richardson, Jr. also was a speaker.

The membership drive of the **Cincinnati, O.**, branch was held in the last two weeks of June. It was opened by a mass meeting Sunday, June 16. Mayor Russell Wilson is one of the contributing members of the branch. The team captained by Elwood Cromwell reported the largest number of new members, sixty-six. The team was awarded a trophy donated by the Rev. A. C. Sumpter, pastor of Allen A.M.E. Temple church and chairman of the drive committee.

Miss Amelia Sears, former county commissioner, Chandler Owen, and Walter White were the principal speakers at a forum on the question "Where Shall the Negro Live," held by the **Chicago, Ill.**, branch June 23. The branch is holding a series of forum meetings to discuss questions of local and national importance. The recent activity of segregationists in Chicago seeking to confine Negro citizens to specified areas was the cause of the discussion June 23. A. C. MacNeal is president of the branch.

The **Topeka, Kans.**, branch, through R. J. Reynolds, the president, has sent an official letter to the Topeka *Daily Capital*, eulogizing Harold Taylor Chase, one of the editorial writers, who died recently, because of his fairness to colored citizens in his editorial columns.

The **Akron, O.**, branch sponsored on June 16 a program honoring the Negro graduates of the public high schools of that city. There were fifty-four graduates in the January and June classes. The Lancaster Scholastic Trophy was awarded to the colored student who attained the highest average during his high school career, and the trophy was presented by Attorney Emmer Lancaster, donor and president of the branch.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.**, branch is planning to hold a fashion show in the latter part of July.

The Juniors of the **Johnstown, Pa.**, branch presented a musical comedy, "Fresh Eggs," on Thursday, June 20 at the Joseph Johns auditorium. Miss Florence Davis and Rolfe Lee had the leading roles, and James Bennett and Clyde Gray were the leading comedians.

Protest against discrimination against Negro girl students at Hillcrest-Glenview School in **Cincinnati, O.**, was made before the City Council of Cincinnati by Theodore Berry, president of the Cincinnati branch. Councilman Anthony B. Dunlap spoke against segregation and pleaded for fair play to the colored girls. It was the concensus of the six councilmen present that this phase of discrimination should be investigated.

Edith Louise Williams, of Madison, N. J., won the English prize presented by the **Morris County, N. J.**, branch to the colored senior in the county obtaining the highest four-year average in English. Miss Williams was graduated in June from the Madison high school.

The first spring dance of the **Media, Pa.**, branch was held in Swarthmore, Pa., Thursday, May 30.

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.**, branch has protested to the board of education against the discrimination against Negro members of school swimming teams who use the Y.M.C.A. pool. The protest grew out of the barring of a colored swimmer on the Stuyvesant high school team, of New York City, which met the New Rochelle high school team recently in the Y.M.C.A. pool in New Rochelle.

Following the refusal of a colored applicant for naval service at one of the Chicago Navy recruiting stations, A. C. MacNeal, president of the **Chicago, Ill.**, branch of the N.A.A.C.P., took the matter up with the Navy Department at Washington only to be advised that "Negroes are accepted for enlistment as messmen and enlistments can only be accepted to fill vacancies and then only at Macon, Ga., Raleigh, N. C., Richmond, Va., Birmingham, Ala., Little Rock, Ark., and Nashville, Tenn." This restriction is being protested to the President of the United States and Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell has been requested to take action on the matter as the recruiting station that failed to take the colored youth in Chicago is in Congressman Mitchell's district.

I. H. Mooty, member of the **Port Huron, Mich.**, branch, is to be commended for his services to the community. Some time ago, a Negro woman was shot by a proprietor of a beer parlor, where discrimination was practiced. This man is now in jail awaiting trial in the Circuit Court. Another man requested license for this place. It was referred to the Police Department. The Chief of Police said he had no objections. But an officer of the department had told Mr. Mooty if the people did not want the place opened in the community to get out a petition and mail to the Department. Mr. Mooty secured a sufficient number of signatures, mailed the petition, prevented the opening of this place on the grounds of misconduct of patrons of the place. The arrest and conviction of a man for assault upon Andrew Diggins, colored, a few days ago, and this case handled by Mr. Mooty, shows an awakening of interest by members of the branch and establishes a record for the branch.

The next case for consideration of the branch is the denial of entrance of colored students into the Lincoln public school. Superintendent L. A. Packard was informed of a protest against such actions. This school is situated in the so-called restricted district. The school board allowed this matter to pass on the strength of certain ones of that district. We have not a sufficient voting strength to oust the members of this board. Therefore, we have to resort to other means. This matter will receive wide publicity.

At the conclusion of the first six months of 1935, following the inauguration of new officers in January, the **Hartford, Conn.**, branch makes the following report covering this period: Under a program heading "Investigation into Civic Rights and Conditions of Negro Citizens of Hartford" speakers were heard from the Juvenile Delinquency Board of Hartford, the Department of Public Welfare, City of Hartford, and a review made by the Reverend John M. Phillips of the Center Congregational Church of Hartford, cognizant of the above conditions and well-informed as to problems of the race.

On April 15, Miss Mary White Ovington, national treasurer, officially opened our membership drive with an address on the work, past and present, of the N.A.A.C.P. During the drive which followed, representatives of our branch appeared before local clubs and organizations, bringing the work of the N.A.A.C.P. to the attention of the community.

A protest was registered with one of the U. S. Senators from Connecticut, as to his attitude in supporting the southern Senators in their filibuster against the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill. We investigated the case of a prisoner at Wethersfield prison who complained that his rights were denied by the judge of the court in which he was tried, and who stated that he was innocent of the crime as charged against him, for which he is serving sentence. We registered a protest with the welfare department, in reference to the manner in which the department was handling applications and bids in regard to the burial of the city dead. Suggestion was made to the Mayor that a colored representative be elected to the Welfare board under the new charter of 1935. A request was made that the playground frequented by the majority of the colored children be furnished with a story-telling hour during the summer months.

In most of these cases we were able to get favorable results, in some none; but each case forms a part of the record of the six months just covered and is kept in our archives for future reference.

BRANCH NEWS

Send the news from your branch regularly to THE CRISIS, 69 Fifth avenue, New York. It must reach us by the first of each month.

Students Challenge

(*Continued from page 233*)

Not only will they not be drawn into such a conflict, but they will actively resist any attempt in that direction with all the means at their disposal.

Cooperation from Whites

Important also is the attitude of the white student to his newly found allies. I cite a recent case which shows very clearly the potentialities of such an alignment.

At East Lansing, Michigan, Negro students taking teacher-training courses are not allowed to practice teaching in the East Lansing schools. The chapter of the National Student League at the Teacher's College circulated a petition among the college students to remove this form of discrimination and succeeded in getting six hundred signatures of white students out of the three thousand students enrolled.

Two hundred fifty out of the three hundred fifty students in the East Lansing high school spontaneously signed a petition to have the Negro students teach. Also one of the parent-teacher groups passed a resolution 72-3 to allow the Negro students to teach. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the American Civil Liberties Union also participated in this fight.

Although the American Student Movement is making tremendous strides and positive achievements can be pointed out, it still lags far behind the needs and demands of the students. Nor can it be denied that the Negro student is far behind the white student in his awareness and challenge of social problems. Yet the development that has taken place in the past three years both among Negro students and among white students seems to indicate that the basis has been established for a broad powerful mass student movement.

The Negro student can and must form a vital section of that movement. To speak of a powerful student movement without speaking of the Negro student is impossible. The white student needs the Negro student in his struggle and the Negro student needs the white student. Success will be achieved in just such measures as this is realized. We move swiftly ahead to unity, forging new weapons, blazing new trails, challenging social forces, which before seemingly resisted all challenge. We move in the direction of freedom and security for all, in the direction of a student body fully conscious of the society in which we live and aware of the problems it presents and the historic tasks it imposes.

LETTERS from READERS

A Student Looks at Current National Problems

To the Editor of The Crisis:—A student today is in a perplexing predicament; he does not know what to think. His condition is problematical. Then, what should be his outlook on life in such an age as he is in today?

In economics and some other classes, the teachers persuade the students to read the newspapers and see what is happening in the world about us. This is, beyond a doubt, a very excellent thing to do, but I dare say, there is a dividing line somewhere.

Sometime ago, we saw blazing across the front page of the newspaper, "Chicago Taken Off Relief Roll—Masses Clamor for Food." Further down, we saw, "Director Hopkins refuses to give relief to Chicago until she is willing to put up half the amount herself." What do we think of this, students? Were those people really clamoring for food and were refused it? "Yes, they were," said the papers, "guards were called to prevent shop-breaking and riots." Again, we are confused.

There were senators and representatives fighting against the passage of the Relief Bill. At this point, we want to know if those men in congress who are fighting against such bills are aware of the fact that people are starving. But as students, can we see far enough into the matter to condemn these men? Must we pause and take notice, should we fight these things the way we see them, or should we follow the other fellow? We have a problem before us.

Concerning the N.R.A., do those nine sober-thinking men in Washington who have handed down such drastic decisions as those in the Texas Primary and the Scottsboro Cases realize that they have set us back to the place where we were before the N.R.A.—child labor, longer working hours, lower wages, poor working conditions, and what not, just as the employer sees fit? As I see it, technicalities have to be evaded sometimes, if the effect will benefit the nation at large. I believe that if the nation is suffering because of the lack of economic stability, some adjustments should be made. In our case, that adjustment was the N.R.A. which President Roosevelt worked out so carefully, only to have it struck down by the Supreme Court.

Another instance is the anti-lynching bill. As a student, I might say that I do not see how a well-thinking and intelligent man like President Roosevelt could let such a vital matter which affects the nation at large pass through his hands apparently unnoticed. But again, I wonder if these matters are not too complicated for a student to be drawing such conclusions.

We also learn that the federal government spends over six hundred million dollars a year for the national defense and only about thirty-six million dollars on health and education together. Now I wonder if this is fair to humanity or are these people feeble-minded?

We are at the crossroads; let us choose and choose correctly. Let us educate ourselves to the point where we can accept or reject these vital matters with a firmness which we can uphold against anyone. Let us not stand back and sanction the other fellow. We want to look into these matters which so gravely determine our future and see the underlying factors. Not until then shall we be able to decide for ourselves what is right and what is not right, what is fair and what is unfair, what is reasonable and what is unreasonable.

Richard T. Green

Charleston, S. C.

Boycott Suggested

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Mussolini seems definitely determined on a war of aggression on Abyssinia, and the question must inevitably suggest itself to Americans who believe that right, not might, should guide the conduct of nations among themselves: Can we do anything to hinder or impede him?

Mere protest is, of course, vain and would be taken simply as a confession of importance. We propose that a committee be formed to organize an economic boycott against Italy; that this committee cooperate with similar committees to be formed in the democratic countries of Europe; that the League of Nations, in particular, and the member countries of the League, and this country as well, be urged to declare an economic boycott of Italy unless she abandons her plans of aggression. This work should be undertaken now and not wait until war has actually begun. Mussolini will not yield to moral arguments. He must be made to feel that imperialism does not pay.

Coupled with such a movement should be a firm demand upon Italy to pay her war debt to the United States. If Mussolini can waste hundreds of millions on a costly adventure in Africa that threatens the peace of the whole world, he can pay Italy's just debts.

Let your readers express their sentiments on this subject.

Bernard Noskin,
Louis Gruse,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

Uphold Stolberg

To the Editor of The Crisis:—We are deeply disturbed by your editorial comment on Benjamin Stolberg's article on "Black Chauvinism" in *The Nation*. We wish to protest the obvious distortion of the whole meaning of his position, which was a brilliant and sound analysis of the tragic predicament of the American Negro today. Your reference to Stolberg as a White Southern Bourbon could be easily dismissed as absurd were it not indicative of the very chauvinism he is attacking. Anyone who knows the history of Ben Stolberg—and every one in the N.A.A.C.P. must know it—and who nonetheless interprets his outlook as The Crisis does, is either stupid or vicious. And we are inclined to believe that in this instance The Crisis was both. It was stupid because it patently tore two sentences out of their context contrary to the letter of the passage between the two sentences and contrary to the spirit of the whole essay. And it was vicious because it expressed the growing racial sensitiveness in our Negro life, which is bound to work against the very de-segregation which Mr. Stolberg so militantly demanded in the very article you attacked and for which The Crisis at one time stood without equivocation.

If Benjamin Stolberg's article in *The Nation* expresses White Southern Bourbonism, we demand that the editor of The Crisis print this letter so that the world may know that we, Negro teachers at Howard University, subscribe to the same kind of White Southern Bourbonism.

Sterling A. Brown
Ralph J. Bunche
Emmett E. Dorsey
E. Franklin Frazier

P.S. Professor Sterling A. Brown asked us to affix his signature to this letter, without seeing it, before he left Washington for Atlanta University.

Washington, D. C.

Thank You

To the Editor of The Crisis:—When the distinguished and erudite Doctor W. E. B. DuBois relinquished the editorship of The Crisis I became somewhat apprehensive of the future of this indispensable magazine. Now, I must confess that my apprehension has been entirely dispelled by the very laudable and commendable manner in which you have performed your new duties.

The July number was very impressive; your editorials were scholarly, concise and courageous.

Wishing you continued success in the discharge of the larger responsibility to the colored people which The Crisis editorship imposes upon you,

I am,

T. Howard Mayberry,
Catoosa, Okla.

Separate School

(*Continued from page 247*)

machinery that we have in this country at the present time.

In the third place, and finally, the Negro separate school is more than an educational institution; it is an instrument of social policy and a symbol of social status. There is no denying the fact that to *segregate* is to *stigmatize*, however much we may try to rationalize it. We segregate the criminal, the insane, pupils with low I.Q.'s, Negroes, and other undesirables. To argue that Negroes are no more stigmatized by the separate school than white people who are also segregated is, and should be recognized as, sheer sophistry. For we all know that segregation is practically always initiated by the whites, and initiated on the basis that Negroes are inferior and undesirable. Thus, when Negroes allow themselves to be cajoled into accepting the status defined by the separate school, they do something to their personalities which is infinitely worse than any of the discomforts *some* of them *may* experience in a mixed school.

Black Night and a Rope

By Harry Martin

Pure black supple marble
from curve of chin
to stiffened toe,
arching downward
from a knotted hempen rope
like a symphony
in ebony
that someone unknown
had carved from the darkness
of the night.
We lynched him
because
we envied him—
we could not tolerate
anything
so beautiful....

C C C Camp

(*Continued from page 244*)

many were plainly ignorant and underprivileged, while others were really criminal. They cursed with every breath, stole everything they could lay hands on, and fought over their food, or over nothing at all.

That same day we got another complete physical examination, two vaccinations and one "shot." They were for typhoid fever, parathyroid and smallpox.

The following day, which was a Wednesday, we got our first clothes, a complete outfit. They were Army clothes, and fitted as well as could be expected. That afternoon we worked. I was on a truck hauling lumber. The next two days we sampled several different kinds of work, none of it very hard. We also heard a very edifying health lecture, chiefly on venereal diseases.

Food at Camp Dix was poor in quality and variety, and barely sufficient in quantity. A typical breakfast: boiled eggs, corn flakes, milk, bread, coffee, butter. Lunch: frankfurters, sauerkraut, potatoes, gravy, bread, applebutter, coffee. Dinner: bologna, applesauce, potato salad, bread, coffee, cake.

We stayed at Camp Dix eight days. We were never told officially where we were going. Just before we boarded the train we were split into two companies. I was placed in Company Y.

The ride was quite enjoyable. On through Jersey, with the sun setting like a ball of fire on golden Delaware. Maryland, with night falling like a shroud. . . .

We were taken to permanent camp on a site rich in Colonial and Revolutionary history, in the upper South. This camp was a dream compared with Camp Dix. There plenty to eat, and we slept in barracks instead of tents. An excellent recreation hall, playground, and other facilities.

I am still in this camp. At the "rec" we have a radio, a piano, a store called a "canteen," a rack of the leading New York papers, white and colored, as well as some from elsewhere. There is a little library with a variety of books and magazines. All sports are encouraged. We have a baseball team, boxing squad, etc. An orchestra has been formed, and classes in various arts and crafts.

Colored People Unfriendly

In fact, the setup is quite ideal. The rest is left with the officers and the men. But the final result leaves much to be desired. Things are not always run efficiently, food is often poorly cooked.

During the first week we did no work outside camp, but only hiked, drilled, and exercised. Since then we have worked five days a week, eight hours a day. Our bosses are local men, southerners, but on the whole I have found nothing to complain of. The work varies, but is always healthy, outdoor labor. As the saying goes, it's a great life, if only you don't weaken!

There are colored people living on farms on all sides of this camp. But they are not very friendly toward CCC boys in general, and toward the northerners in particular. (There are four

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companies here: two of southerners, one of veterans, and our own.) So that, socially, the place is "beat."

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On the whole, I was gratified rather than disappointed with the CCC. I had expected the worst. Of course it reflects, to some extent, all the practices and prejudices of the U. S. Army. But as a job and an experience, for a man who has no work, I can heartily recommend it.

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